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ABSTRACT

The study investigated the role of a second language (L2) learner's prior cultural knowledge in target language lexical meaning-making. Comparison focuses on what important similarities in L2 lexical meaning-making of culturally loaded words appear among learners with the same ethnic background, and what important lexical meaning differences exist across cultures. Subjects were three Chinese learners of English as a Second Language and one Canadian native English speaker. Data were collected through a first-impression talk, open word-association questionnaire, and followup interviews. Information from three responses (Canadian speaker's response to an English word, Chinese learners' response to the English word in English, and Chinese learners' response to the English word in Chinese) and the word's meanings (conceptual, connotative, synonyms, antonyms, lexical cultural categories, specific knowledge in lexical meanings, and cross-linguistic factors) in both English and Chinese were examined. Findings were that a central meaning of an L2 word exists and is shared by the L2 learners with the same cultural background. Between the L2 learner and the native speaker there exists an overlapping conceptual relationship in the central meaning of a culturally loaded word, with striking individual differences in connotation. Pedagogical implications are seen. (MSE)

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A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF PRIOR CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE IN ENGLISH-SECOND-LANGUAGE LEXICAL MEANING-MAKING

By

Shuguang Qi

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Education

in conformity with the requirements for the

degree of Master of Education

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Abstract

In this comparative study, the role of a second language (L2) learner's prior cultural knowledge in target language lexical meaning-making is examined. The comparison focuses on what important similarities in L2 lexical meaning-making of culturally loaded words are shown among the learners with the same ethnic background, and what important lexical meaning differences exist across cultures. The purpose of the study is three-fold: to explore the role of an L2 learner's prior cultural knowledge, to reflect the complexity and significance of various shades and layers of meanings of a culturally loaded word, and to provide some pedagogical implications for second language teaching and acquisition.

The subjects involved in the study were three Chinese English-Second-Language (ESL) learners and one native Canadian English speaker. The data for the study were collected through a first impression talk, an open word-association questionnaire, and follow-up interviews. The data from three responses, that is: (a) the Canadian speaker's response to an English word, (b) the Chinese learners' response to the English word in English and (c) the Chinese learners' response to the English word in Chinese, as well as the word's meanings both in English and Chinese dictionaries, were examined and compared. The data analysis is built on multi-layer comparisons of cultural meanings for a word: conceptual and connotative meanings, synonyms and antonyms, lexical cultural categories, specific knowledge in lexical meanings, and cross-linguistic factors in meaning-making.

Noteworthy findings include the following. A central meaning of an L2 word was perceived to be existent and shared by the L2 learners with the same cultural background. Between the L2 learner and the native speaker of that language there exists an overlapping conceptual relationship in the central meaning of a culturally loaded word. The difference in connotation of some abstract culturally loaded words is striking, not only in specific meanings but also in the part of the central concept shared between the L2 learner and the native speaker. The translation equivalent in the learner's mother tongue plays an important mediating role in the cross-linguistic meaning-mapping process. Thus the conceptual variations in translation equivalents from original meanings in the target language may pose a lexical meaning-making barrier for a L2 learner. Such barriers must be understood and addressed in second language pedagogy.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Background of the Problem

Inspiration

While engaged in bilingual work for many years, which included teaching English as a second language (ESL) at a leading university in China, and translating major works of literature from English into Chinese, I developed an awareness that in English some words are used in such a way that even advanced Chinese scholars would interpret them differently from native speakers of English because of cultural dissimilarities. After having taken graduate courses and conversed with professors in the Faculty of Education at Queen's University, I was more determined than ever to conduct research on this topic.

Assumption

"In second- as well as first-language acquisition, words are the first linguistic units acquired" (Ijaz, 1984, p. 229). The task of lexical acquisition in a new language is a complex and challenging undertaking for both teacher and student. The complexity may involve a multitude of cultural influences which play a significant role in lexical

acquisition in a new language. From my personal bilingual experience, I assumed that a word has culturally loaded meaning which could be variably interpreted by people from different cultural backgrounds, and that cultural dissimilarities would leave a margin for the second language (L2) learner to negotiate the target language lexical meaning with the learner's prior cultural knowledge. Such a margin could constitute an important source of misinterpretation for the L2 learner. This margin is especially significant for adult L2 learners. By the time adults come to learn a new language they have already internalized a great deal of shared and organized meaning of their home culture embedded in the meaning of words in their first language. To acquire a word in a new language may involve the mapping of the new linguistic label to a concept that may or may not be similar to the concept associated with the 'translation equivalent' of that word in the first language. This idea led directly to my motives for the present study.

Overview of the Study

The purpose of this thesis study is given first, followed by a brief discussion of the significance of the study. The theoretical framework that underlies the purpose of the study is presented in Chapter II. Chapter III is a detailed account of the methodology adopted for the research. It includes the strategy for selection of the subjects, the choice of the stimulus words for the research, and the design as well as the process of data collection. Chapter IV is a comparative analysis of the data from the three ESL Chinese subjects with similar cultural backgrounds. It deals mainly with the meanings

that the subjects made for the 10 culture-loaded words in their responses in English. Chapter V is a cross-cultural comparison and analysis of lexical meaning-making between the Chinese responses in English and the Canadian responses in English. The major findings of the study are described in the summary for each of the two chapters (Chapter IV & Chapter V). Chapter VI is an integration and conclusion for the study. Some pedagogical implications of the study are suggested for second language teaching and acquisition. This chapter also presents a discussion of some limitations of the present study and offers suggestions for further research.

Nature of the Study

Approach

This is a qualitative case study concerning cultural aspects of lexical acquisition in a second language. The prime concern of the study is with the impact of a learner's prior cultural knowledge on the acquisition of lexical meaning in a second language. Focusing on a chosen list of culturally loaded words that take an extended or more limited meaning because of different cultural contexts, this thesis will, first, discuss the relations between language and culture and between culture and meaning through a cross-disciplinary review of literature, and second, examine the complex role of the learner's prior cultural knowledge in lexical meaning-making in a new language through a comparative case study.

Purpose

Based on the assumption of transference of meaning from the first language to the second, the thesis was directed to the following three purposes:

1) To study what a culturally loaded word in the second language can mean both to an adult L2 speaker and a native speaker of the language in order to show how the L2 speaker's prior cultural knowledge plays a role in meaning-making of such a word in the target language. This is explored through the following comparisons: (a) between individual meanings among the Chinese subjects, (b) between the responses in English by the Chinese ESL speakers and the response in English by the native Canadian speaker of English, and (c) between the responses in English by the Chinese ESL speakers and the responses in Chinese by the Chinese ESL speakers.

2) To reflect how complex and significant the L2 speaker's prior cultural knowledge can be in L2 lexical meaning-making by examining various cultural shades of lexical meaning in the comparisons, and to illustrate the differences and distinctions in meaning-making between the Chinese ESL and Canadian native English speakers.

3) To suggest some pedagogical implications of the study for teaching and acquisition of lexical meaning in the second language.

Definition of Terms

Lexeme

I am considering lexical meaning as the definition of the lexeme. 'Lexeme' is a linguistic term for word but is distinguished from word-form. For example, the words "bought" and "buy" are different forms of the same word. Here the term "word" is clearly being used in two different senses. It is the "word" of which *bought and buy* are said to be forms that is the lexeme. Peter Matthews (1974) regards the lexeme as an "abstract" and "fundamental unit of the lexicon of the language" (p. 21-22). Therefore I will say that *buys, bought, buying* and *buy* are forms of the lexeme BUY. For this study, the label "word", in most cases, will be used in the sense of lexeme.

Culturally loaded word

By a culturally loaded word, I mean a word with a cultural component of meaning which may be variable from one culture to another because of differences in cultural history and experience.

Prior cultural knowledge

The term prior knowledge will refer to the awareness about the world composed

of information on "things, places, relationships, concepts, feelings, attitudes which come with prior experience and learning" (Goodman, 1967, p.126). This awareness about the world can be observed as cultural. However, there has been a long-standing and still unsettled terminological wrangle in anthropology over the term 'culture'. According to Seelye (1987), the first really contemporary effort to define culture was made by anthropologists. Kroeber and Kluckholn (1954) examined approximately 300 definitions. Seelye (1987) pointed out that "if one is pressed to abstract the catholicity of the concept presented in the many definitions, culture emerges as a very broad concept embracing all aspects of human life" (p. 13). To be more specific, recent culture theory has broadened the notion of culture from merely patterns of behaviour to knowledge, meanings, and symbols (e.g., Geertz, 1973; Keesing, 1981; LeVine, 1984). In examining the cultural roles in native learning-teaching processes, Stairs (1988, 1991) has incorporated cultural systems in terms of integrations of ecological, social, cognitive, and linguistic aspects of everyday human life. Goodenough (1981) claimed that "in considering the content of culture we must take account of the entire range of phenomena - behavioral and nonbehavioral alike - that enter into human experience and that are the subject matter of learning" (p. 61). From the perspective of these studies and theories, the term prior cultural knowledge will be conceived of as a speaker's awareness of these aspects in his or her home culture. Such cultural aspects include, for instance, a speaker's previous ecological and social environments, the way of thinking of the people in the home culture, including attitudes, norms, values and expectations, as well as the speaker's native language. Obah's (1983) historical view of prior cultural knowledge is also

instrumental. He observed prior cultural knowledge as "a build-up of knowledge of the history of one's race and its beliefs, as passed on in legends, folktales, and formal classroom texts" (p. 130).

Lexical meaning or word meaning

The meaning of a word is another recurrent term in this paper. Osgood (1990) defined it as "a simultaneous bundle of semantic features" (p. 115). But then he added that "we are far from solving this problem" (p. 115) of identifying all of these semantic features, or components. I do not want to dwell on the terminological disputes about the precise coverage of the term meaning. I prefer a definition broad enough to include reference -- what the word actually refers to in the real world, and connotation -- the feelings or ideas suggested by a word, as part of word meaning. Nelson (1985) considers reference as "the relation between a word and what it signifies" (p. 12). Nelson's notion of reference coincides with the notion of denotation, described by Lyons (1977) as "the relationship that holds between [a] lexeme and persons, things, places, properties, processes and activities external to the language systems" (p. 207). Leech (1974) breaks down meaning in its widest sense into seven different ingredients (p. 26). Among them are conceptual meaning and connotative meaning. According to Leech, "connotative meaning is the communicative value an expression has by virtue of what it refers to, over and above its purely conceptual content. To a large extent, the notion of reference overlaps with conceptual content" (p. 14). In light of these views of meaning,

a broad definition that includes reference and connotation in a word's meaning seems acceptable.

Meaning-making

For the purpose of this study meaning-making refers to lexical meaning-making in the L2 learning context. It involves the process of matching the lexical labels in the L2 with the first language (L1) meanings in the minds of the learners. The meanings in their minds are embedded in their cultural knowledge. In the L2 learning contexts, meaning-making frequently involves the process of decoding lexical symbols in the L2 by means of previous (L1) cultural experience and knowledge.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is threefold. First, it contributes academically to the basic research field of L2 lexical meaning acquisition. A comprehensive search of the literature does not provide us with a concrete example in which both cultural and semantic knowledge of lexical meanings are integrated and investigated in a single qualitative study. A comparative case study of Chinese bilinguals (in English and in Chinese) and a Canadian monolingual (in English) in Canada in a qualitative approach may provide teachers and researchers an opportunity to observe the role of prior cultural knowledge in lexical meaning-making in a second language in a new context and from a

new perspective.

Second, the study attempts to demonstrate that the cultural component of a word meaning can be an essential part of L2 lexical meaning acquisition. There are a great number of people in the L2 profession who still believe that vocabulary may be learnt from dictionaries or learnt or taught independently of cultural meaning. This study may present evidence of actual inseparability between the word meaning and the speaker's cultural knowledge. As such, the study may provide important implications for lexical learning and teaching practice in the field of L2 education.

Third, the study may enhance our awareness of the existence of cross-cultural differences and the consequences of these differences. Therefore, it provides implications for multicultural studies in Canada. Multicultural communication is one of the keys to the smooth operation of a multicultural society. The study is designed in an attempt to provide meaningful evidence regarding lexical meaning differences between the L2 speaker and the native speaker of the language, suggesting that the dissimilarity in lexical meaning between the L1 and the L2 is an important aspect of multicultural issues not to be ignored either in terms of L2 education or in terms of multicultural education.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Emergence of Second Language Lexical Meaning Research

The last decade or so has witnessed two noteworthy research trends in the field of second language acquisition (SLA). One trend is the resurgence of studies on cross-linguistic influence such as the influence of L1 on L2 (Gass & Selinker, 1983; Kellerman & Sharwood Smith, 1986; Odlin, 1989). As can be seen in these studies, the native language (NL) role in the acquisition of the target language (TL) has attracted greater attention from researchers than before. The second trend has been an increased interest in vocabulary learning (e.g., see Meara 1987 for a recent bibliography on vocabulary studies; also see Gass 1988 for an excellent review of research work on vocabulary). Thus, we have seen that the importance of lexical acquisition has been recognized as central in the SLA field.

The coincidence of these two trends has borne fruit in a host of studies on NL-TL difference/similarity as a variable in the process of target lexical acquisition. Most data from research in this domain have demonstrated that cross-linguistic lexical similarities play an overwhelmingly facilitating role in TL lexical acquisition. However, the term "similarity" is more complicated than meets the eye. Ringbom (1987) acknowledges that "even the basic meaning of similarity causes problems" (p. 34). It can refer either to formal or linguistic similarity (i.e., similarity in form and appearance) or to perceived or

meaning similarity. However, for a long time, especially in the tradition of contrastive linguistics, similarity has been regarded merely as formal or linguistic similarity.

In their search for NL influence on TL lexical acquisition, Holmes (1977) and Ringbom (1986) explored the influence of morphological similarities on lexical meaning-making. According to them, similarities in word forms can play a significant role in target lexical meaning acquisition. They went even further to describe the pitfalls of some kinds of linguistic similarities and semantic dissimilarities in cases of lexical acquisition in the TL. For an example of cognate or false cognate, the forms of French 'prevenir' and English 'prevent' seem to represent reliable signals of a cognate relation as do the forms of 'justifier' and 'justify'. In other words, these two words look so similar to each other that they seem to be originally related and therefore have the equivalent meaning in the two languages. Yet, while the latter pair is a true instance of cognate relation, the former is not: 'Prevenir' means 'to warn', and thus the pair 'prevenir' and 'prevent' is a pitfall for English learners of French and French learners of English (Holmes, 1977, p.520). Although this problem will unlikely take place in the case of such two orthographically different languages as English and Chinese, meaning problems can appear in other guises. For example, Ringbom (1986) gives another example of pitfalls in lexical acquisition where words within a language are morphologically identical but not semantically equivalent. This polysemous nature of a word in a language also constitutes a problem in L2 lexical acquisition, as is seen in the following error made by a Finnish student: "He bit himself in the language". In Finnish a single form, 'Kieli', is used for both 'tongue' and 'language' (p.158). A problem of

this nature could also arise on the part of Chinese learners of ESL. For example, Chinese learners tend to confuse 'house' with 'room' due to the fact that we refer to whatever residence in China as 'house'. Hence the common error made by the Chinese student to Canada: "This is my house" when pointing to a room in a shared apartment.

As can be seen from the above discussion, lexical meaning (technically known as lexical semantics) is starting to gain attention from researchers in cross-linguistic lexical studies. But a large-scale search of the literature on SLA reveals a scarcity of research on the cross-cultural influence of lexical meaning acquisition in a second language, or to be more specific, on the impact of the learner's prior cultural knowledge on acquisition of lexical meanings in the second language. Not many studies have focused on the dynamic and culturally chameleonic nature of lexical meaning in cross-cultural contexts.

A Vygotskian Perspective

The research question focuses on what impact prior cultural knowledge may have on the learner's acquisition of word meanings in a second language. To answer this question, I need to make clear, first, whether the speaker's meaning in the vocabulary of a language is culturally determined, and second, whether as a result of cultural differences, the speaker's meaning in the corresponding words between the two languages may vary cross-culturally.

Close links among language, culture, and thought have been postulated by the

great Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky and his advocates. For Vygotsky, language is a way of sorting out one's thoughts about things. He believed that thought has a social, external origin. He wrote that "the social dimension of consciousness is primary in time and fact. The individual dimension of consciousness is derivative and secondary, based on the social" (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 30). As Cole (1985) has observed, Vygotsky adopted "an approach that denied the strict separation of the individual and the social environment" (p. 148). Within this approach, the individual and the social were conceived of as mutually constitutive elements of a single, interacting system and cognitive development as a process of acquiring culture. Vygotsky and his students called their approach a "sociocultural" or "sociohistorical" theory of psychological processes. The basic idea is formulated in the "general genetic law of cultural development" where Vygotsky (1981) proposed that:

> Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category. (p. 163)

Therefore, for Vygotsky, there is an inherent relationship between external and internal activity. But the major issue is how external processes are transformed to create internal processes. According to Wertsch and Stone (1985), the Vygotskian formulation involves two premises: "First, internalization is primarily concerned with social processes. Second, Vygotsky's account is based largely on an analysis of the semiotic mechanisms, especially language, that mediate social and individual functioning" (pp. 163-4). There

is no doubt here that language, as the most important kind of semiotic mechanism, plays a key role in connecting the external with the internal, and the social with the individual. This process of connection is called "internalization" (Wertsch & Stone, 1985).

Clearly enough, internalization involves interaction between the individual and the culture. For Vygotsky, in the context of language acquisition, the individual mainly refers to the child whose meaning system is still on a developing level which is to be decisively influenced by the culture which the adults who surround the child represent. Vygotsky outlined this form of the adult's influence in the following terms:

> We have seen that the speech of those adults surrounding the child, with its constant, determinant word meanings, determines the paths of the development of children's generalization, the circle of complexes. The child does not select the meaning for a word. He/she receives a group of concrete objects in an already prepared form of generalization provided by a word. In general, a child does not create his/her own speech; he/she masters the existing speech of surrounding adults. (cited in Wertsch, 1983, p. 28)

Adults understand and use words in terms of a culturally constituted sign system (i.e., language). This means that the social interaction is structured such that the child is necessarily on the receiving side. The normal adult cognitive processes represent internalized transformations of socially prevalent patterns. As Bruner (1986) has stated,

> Vygotsky believed that the transmission of mind across history is effected by successive mental sharings that assure a passing on of ideas from the

more able or advanced to the less so. And the medium in which the transmission occurs is language and its products: literacy, science, technology, literature. (p. 74)

When a child grows into adulthood, the child's way of thought develops into the mainstream of a model of a culture in which the child lives. The language used to express one's thoughts and meanings certainly refers to one's mother tongue with which one has the most immediate experience in this mental activity.

Personality and Cultural Meanings

However, while we are studying the cultural impact on lexical meaning-making on the part of adult L2 learners, we certainly can not ignore the factor of personality (e.g., personal experiences, ideas, etc.). Rivers (1983) claimed that practical experience and social meaning "vary from culture to culture, as well as from individual to individual within a culture" (p. 122). She tried to separate 'personal ideas' from 'cultural ideas' and believed the former to be "culture-independent" and "may even conflict with cultural ideas" (p. 123). D'Andrade's (1984) view seems more moderate. He pointed out that "personality is another kind of system that is distinct from, but related to, cultural meaning systems .... [and] cultural meanings have the potential of giving form and depth to private experience" (pp. 113-114). Nelson's (1985) discussion of personal meaning represents another line of argument: "meaning is considered to be imposed on words by the speakers in a particular context. This imposition is

accomplished through the meaning systems of the speakers involved and reflects, in part, conventional meanings" (p. 9). According to Nelson (1985) 'conventional meanings' refer to the socially conditioned meanings of the cultural group. In Nelson's sense, meaning is made through a personal subjective meaning system either embedded in, or in addition to, conventional meanings.

The idea of inseparability of meaning between individual and culture has recently been argued by such renowned figures in psychology as Osgood and Bruner. Osgood (1990), for example, pointed out on a statistical basis that "the degree of conformity on issues is often striking, 90 to 100 per cent of subjects frequently choosing the same side, if not the same intensity. This happens both for common meanings and for attitude objects" (p. 307). Bruner (1990) has a strong position on this issue: "The divide in human evolution was crossed when culture became the major factor in giving form to the minds of those living under its sway" (pp. 11-12). He clearly does not view the differences in meaning and interpretation as conflicts between individuals and culture. Instead, he observed that differences are negotiated and that idiosyncratic meanings are not to an individual's own advantage "unless he can get them shared by others" (p. 13). He concluded that "we live publicly by public meanings and by shared procedures of interpretation and negotiation" (p. 13).

In summary the research suggests that cultural meanings and personal meanings are interrelated. Bruner's argument clearly demonstrates that for all the differences in meaning among individuals within a culture, these meanings are publicly shared and their differences readily acceptable by some common means of interpretation and

negotiation within the culture.

Word Meaning

Cross-cultural influence on meaning-making

Given that culture significantly influences the phenomenological experience of individuals, and given the relative permanence of both culture and its associated language, it is reasonable to assume that cultural phenomena as well as cultural values, attitudes, beliefs, and other premises are imprinted in the meaning of verbal units. For instance, the semanticist John Lyons (1977) has put great emphasis on the social and cultural aspects of meanings in the words of a particular language. He claims that:

> The denotation of most lexemes is not determined solely, or even principally, by the physical properties of their denotata. Much more important seems to be the role or function of the objects, properties, activities, processes and events in the life and culture of the society using the language. (p. 210)

Lyons' view presents a cultural perspective on word meaning. Since language is so bound up with how we see ourselves functioning in the world, the external world (i.e., culture) of a language and the internal meanings of the words of that language are closely correlated. In other words, the meaning of words in a language is greatly dependent on the cultural life in which the speakers of that language live.

I now turn to the second question raised earlier in this thesis: Do cross-cultural differences influence word meaning? The literature indicates that different meaning models exist across cultures. For example, LeVine (1984) gave an example of the Gussi culture in which there is a lexicon of distinctively mental phenomena and a framework for conceptualizing mental process, particularly their subjective aspects, which is beyond the categories of Western psychologies. Recently, Lutz presented a summary of the ethnopsychological knowledge system of the people of Ifaluk (Lutz, 1982; 1983; 1985; 1987). D'Andrade (1987) concluded that certain areas of the experiential field may be universally recognized but "the degree to which the total field is differentiated and the exact borders and boundaries between areas will vary cross-culturally" (p.145). It will not be difficult to understand that such cross-cultural differences will have influence on lexical meaning-making.

The literature has shown that our ability to make meaning in a language is inextricably intertwined with encyclopedic cultural knowledge (Keesing, 1979; Silverstein, 1985). J. Bloom (1990, April) has approached the construction of meaning under his framework of 'contexts of meaning'. As J. Bloom (1990, June) pointed out, "a number of factors other than semantic knowledge affect the construction of meaning", and these factors include "personal experiences, metaphors, interpretive frameworks, and emotions-values-aesthetics" (p.1). In an earlier paper, J. Bloom (1990) introduced a perspective of conceptual ecology, based on the notion of interaction of individuals and their environment and explained that conceptual ecology assumed that "people's knowledge is adapted to their cultural and intellectual environment" (p. 549). The

importance of background knowledge and experience in language comprehension, known as schema theory (Carrell, 1984, pp. 332-342), is widely accepted by reading researchers and teachers working with native speakers of English (Adams & Bruce, 1980; Anderson, 1977; Langer, 1984). For example, Langer's (1984) study examined the power of the background knowledge measure as an important predictor of comprehension.

The role of cultural knowledge in meaning-making is especially obvious in the L2 learning situation where the learners' personal meaning systems as well as their cultural models are different from those of the target language culture. In a quantitative study by Yousef (1986), a group of Arabic students interpreted American literature according to their own native behavioral pattern. Yousef observed that "the students' problem was not an inability to communicate in American English. The problem was an unwillingness or inability to understand or accept the culture of the target language" (p.232).

Cross-cultural lexical studies in L2

Some studies have statistically attested to the significant role of subjective cultural knowledge in the word meaning process (King, 1986; Osgood et al., 1975; Maclay & Ware, 1961; Triandis & Osgood, 1958; Kumata & Schramm, 1956). King's (1986) study, for instance, assessed the effect of American/Western culture on English-speaking Japanese bilinguals as reflected in differences in the connotative meanings of certain

kinds of words. Osgood et al. (1975), in their cross-cultural studies of the concepts in feeling-tone for colors, discovered that a significant number of cultures have shown differentiations among colors (p.309). Maclay & Ware (1961) used the semantic differential scale to make direct comparisons of certain concepts between the three American Indian groups (Hopi, Zuni and Navaho). The results of these comparisons revealed that "of 21 comparisons, 17 show significant differences beyond the .05 level" (p.187). Triandis & Osgood's (1958) study also indicated that differences in the usage of certain individual descriptive scales and in the meanings for certain concepts between a sample of monolingual Greek college students and a sample of American college students are striking. Kumata & Schramm (1956), in their comparative study on connotative meanings between bilingual Japanese and Korean students and monolingual American college students, noted the "differences between the concepts either within a group or between groups by the use of the D statistic" (p.235). The available evidence in these studies has suggested that the affective meaning of certain concepts varies from one cultural context to another and that such differences are measurably manifested in the semantic differential scales.

A Linguistic Perspective on Lexical Meaning

As mentioned earlier, learners' prior cultural knowledge includes the knowledge of their native language. Therefore, the role of L1 as a map for social action should also be a crucial concern in second language acquisition.

"Modern anthropologists, concerned with the relationship between language, culture, and world view, trace their intellectual genealogy through a 'Whorf Hypothesis'" (Hill, 1988, p. 14). The central idea is that language functions not simply as a device for reporting experience, but also, and more significantly, as a way of defining experience for its speakers. Conclusions from some contrastive studies are supportive of the Whorfian Hypothesis. Alfred Bloom (1981, 1984) claims that he found the syntactic structure of Mandarin Chinese does not explicitly encode some semantic differences associated with unreality, which contrasts with the English verb system that explicitly codes such differences. He further points out that the absence of this syntactic device is consonant with certain Chinese intellectual traditions.

On the level of discourse, Kaplan (1972) asserts that there is a difference in directness between English and Chinese paragraphs and that his research has found that such a difference is reflected in the academic expository writing of Chinese ESL students. Of course, the evidence produced by the above-mentioned studies is by no means conclusive. In fact, as some critics have pointed out, there are deficiencies and methodological problems associated with these studies (see Au, 1983 & 1984; Mohan & Lo, 1985). However very few researchers, if any, would rule out the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influence on the development of second language learners discourse and lexical competencies. In short, research on discourse and semantic transfer points to the need of reassessing linguistic relativism.

Scholars have recently adopted for discussion two tenets of the Whorf hypothesis: a strong linguistic determinism, and a weaker linguistic relativity, as Au (1983)

interpreted as follows:

> *Linguistic relativity*. Structural differences between languages will generally be parallelled by non-linguistic cognitive differences in the native speakers of the two languages.
>
> *Linguistic determinism*. The structure of a language strongly influences or fully determines the way its native speakers perceive the world. (p. 156)

Au goes on to say that the linguistic differences in Whorf's examples always turn out to be not absolute. As has been pointed out, "it is never the case that something expressed in Zuni or Hopi or Latin cannot be expressed at all in English" (Brown, 1976, p.129). Since no word has been shown to be absolutely untranslatable into other languages, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis has been reformulated into a weak form: "languages differ not so much as to what *can* be said in them, rather than as to what is *relatively easy* to say" (Hockett, 1954, p.122). According to Au, the research done in subsequent years has been devoted to this weak version (linguistic relativity) of Whorf hypothesis.

A. Bloom is a proponent of the pro-Whorf school. He defends the weak version rather the strong one. In his 1984 article, he argues that the claim that the language or languages we learn determine the way we think is untenable. But it does not follow that language is merely a code system which neither affects the process by which thinking proceeds nor the nature of the thoughts manipulated in that process. A. Bloom (1981) hypothesized that "once linguistic labels, lexical or grammatical, have been mastered, their presence in an oral or written utterance acts to trigger in the mind of the hearer or reader the specific cognitive schemas associated with those labels, thereby not only

providing a primary level of comprehension of the utterance, but also establishing specific direction to further thought processing with respect to it" (cited in A. Bloom 1984, p. 274). He further points out:

> Cross-linguistically, ... when a language has a direct label for a concept, through the use of its label, the concept can be triggered directly, thereby establishing it as a cognitive standpoint from which to proceed. By contrast, in a language in which a direct label for the concept is not available, other available labels will be used to trigger their respective associated schemas with the expectations that these schemas will in turn, in conjunction with additional information, either provided or taken to be known, lead the hearer or reader, albert indirectly, to the intended concept. An indirect process of this kind, however, is subject, in a way that a direct process is not, to the intervening factors which may, for better or worse, derail from its intended result (1984, pp. 275-276).

A. Bloom's point can be especially relevant to L2 lexical meaning-making situations. A typical situation would be one in which culture-loaded words exist in great abundance and seem to have matching linguistic labels in the other languages (e.g., conservative vs. *Baoshou* in Chinese), but the matching labels in the different languages are not necessarily exact equivalents in all senses. They may very well trigger differing schemata or concepts.

There are two more implications from the linguistic relativity perspective of the Whorfian Hypothesis. First, to the extent that languages differ markedly from one

another, so should we expect to find significant cross-cultural differences in communication and understanding. Second, since one's experience with one's mother tongue and the meanings it entails is not merely that with *a* language, but that with *language*, this kind of experience should not, and cannot, be cut off in learning a second language. It is expected that the L2 speaker will likely interpret L2 words in terms of the meanings residing in the auditory and/or visual labels of the L1 corresponding words.

The Need for This Study

The literature has indicated that the cultural meaning system structured in language can differ markedly from one culture to another. However, a search of the literature indicates that no previous qualitative research has been undertaken in an attempt to make comparisons among the three particular responses to a word in a target language, that is, among:

a) the native speaker's response to a word

b) the learner's TL response to the word

c) the learner's NL response to the word

The scarcity of studies in this specific area and the research design from a new perspective provide the major premises for the current thesis study. Although King's (1986) study emphasizes the cross-cultural influence on meaning aspects of words, like others (e.g., Kumata & Schramm, 1956; Triandis & Osgood, 1958; Maclay & Ware,

1961; Osgood et al., 1975) his study ignores the aspects of the L1 influence on L2 lexical meaning-making, reflects the influence of crosscultural differences on only a limited range of word meaning, and uses quantitative research methodology only. While the quantitative methodology may most efficiently reveal the direct outcome of an issue, it fails to expose the process that leads to the outcome. The qualitative approach, however, serves this latter purpose and helps describe such processes in a most descriptive manner.

The foregoing framework, upon which I have been theorizing, strongly suggests that cross-cultural lexical meaning differences exist between such languages as English and Chinese where, in Sweet's words, "the terminology of Chinese philosophy and science is independent of western influence" (Sweet, 1899/1972, p.65). As such, my present questions for the study are: How does Chinese prior cultural knowledge influence the learner's meaning-making of culturally loaded words in English and in what aspects are the differences most significant, and further, how and to what extent does the Chinese language influence a Chinese learner's meaning-making of these English words?

Summary

The review of literature examined studies of lexical meaning research in the field of L2 acquisition, revealing a scarcity of research on cross-cultural influence on lexical acquisition in a second language, and thus pointing to the necessity of further research

on this issue.

Starting from the basics of the theory related to this issue, the literature discusses the interrelationships among language, culture, meaning, and thought through such fields as psychology, anthropology, linguistics, and cultural theory. It points out that language is the reflection of thought and that human thought has a social and cultural origin from the Vygotskian point of view.

The literature clearly distinguishes between individual differences within a culture and differences across cultures and argues that for all the differences among individuals, the meanings within a culture are publicly shared and their differences readily acceptable by some shared means of interpretation and negotiation within the culture.

The literature demonstrates that there are different thinking models across cultures and that cross-cultural differences have a significant influence on L2 lexical meaning-making. A set of quantitative studies concerning L2 lexical meaning-making were introduced to show that the affective meaning of certain concepts varies from one cultural context to another. Given language as part of culture, the literature also suggests that cross-linguistic differences may affect L2 lexical meaning-making behavior in terms of the relationship between the linguistic label in one language and the concept it needed to represent it in the other, consistent with the weak version of Whorfian Hypothesis.

In conclusion, cultural differences clearly have a tremendous impact on semantic relations between the meaning in a speaker's mind and that in a word of any given language. It is strongly suggested that words have dynamic and variable meanings in

different cultural contexts. However, the literature does not provide evidence from any qualitative studies to show how cross-cultural differences influence L2 lexical meaning-making. Hence the justification for this study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Selection strategy

Hitchcock and Hughes (1989) point out that it is important for the researcher "to be clear on what informant selection strategies [are] employed and why" (p. 62). The subjects for the study consisted of three Chinese learners of ESL and one native speaker of Canadian English. The nature of the study required that all Chinese subjects be adult ESL learners and newcomers in Canada, and have no prior living experience in any third country. The reason for the Chinese subjects to be newcomers and to have no direct contact with any third culture was to maximize the subjects' Chinese cultural knowledge and minimize the influence of any other new culture, thus increasing the external validity of the study. There were no strict requirements for their level of English proficiency so long as they all passed the entrance score (550) in the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) test and claimed to know all the English stimulus words to be used for this study.

The use of the one mono-cultural Canadian native English speaker was intended to collect contrastive data for a comparative analysis. In addition to the English dictionary that I would also use as a reference for the basic meaning of each stimulus word, the

Canadian subject could provide another source of information to form a triangulation of data to add to the validity of the study. It is believed that the Canadian native English speaker's subjective meaning system would reflect not only the word's conceptual knowledge but the subject's Canadian cultural knowledge as well.

All subjects were told the general purpose of the research (i.e., to determine what some words mean to the subjects) (Triandis & Osgood, 1958) before the study started.

Chinese subjects

With the help of the Chinese Student/Scholar Association at Queen's University, in May, 1991, a potential group of 10 Chinese graduate students and visiting scholars who had arrived from mainland China not long before were reached by phone calls. After the general purpose of research was explained, they all expressed an interest in participating in the study. Each of them was then given a brief questionnaire (see Appendix A) to permit collection of information on his or her personal background. The results of the questionnaire revealed that eight of students completely met the above-mentioned requirements of the study while the other two had either stayed in Britain or studied in the USA for over a year. The ages of these 8 tentative subjects vary from 27 to 42. In the end, the three final subjects were randomly selected from this group. The following is a brief introduction of the three Chinese subjects.

Subject 1 (S1): Han, (Pseudonyms were assigned to each subject), female, aged 42, arrived in Canada in April, 1991 with an international student visa. She was waiting

for the Fall Term of 1991-1992 academic year to start her Master of Science Program in an engineering department at Queen's University. She had been learning English in China for over 10 years. In answering question 11 in the questionnaire "What level of English do you think you have achieved? Why?", she wrote: "Skilful. I can speak, read, write, think in English quite well, and some of my translation works have been published in China." To question 14 "What language do you usually use for thinking?", she wrote "Chinese or English, depending on whom I shall be talking to." She took the TOEFL test in 1988 and her score was over 600.

Subject 2 (S2): Ming, male, aged 33, arrived in Canada in December, 1990 with an international student visa. He started his LLM (Master of Law) Program in the Law Department of Queen's University from January, 1991. He had learned English for eight years. In response to question 11 in the questionnaire "What level of English do you think you have achieved? Why?" , he wrote "Proficiency." To the question 14 "What language do you usually use for thinking?", he wrote: "Chinese, and sometimes English." He took the TOEFL test in 1990 and his score was 660, a rare score seldom achieved by a Chinese student.

Subject 3 (S3): Mao, female, aged 32, arrived in Canada in November, 1990 with a visitor's visa. She came as a visiting scholar at Queen's University to carry out research work on biological science in the Department of Biology. She had an M.S. degree in Biochemistry. In answering question 11 "What level of English do you think you have achieved? Why?", she wrote: "Good. I don't think I have any language difficulty when I stay in an English-speaking country." To the question "What language

do you usually use for thinking?", she wrote: "Chinese." She took the TOEFL test in March, 1991 and her score for the test was 603.

The responses of the three subjects to the questionnaire indicated that none of them had visited any third country previously and all claimed to understand the meaning of each word listed in the questionnaire.

Canadian subject

One Canadian subject was chosen from the graduate students at Queen's University. The selection of the Canadian subject was on an informal basis. I once talked to a former classmate of mine at the Faculty of Education about my need to find a typical Canadian speaker of English and asked whether she could recommend anyone. By 'typical Canadian speaker of English,' I meant a person whose native language was English and who was born in Canada and had stayed in Canada for all his or her life. She thought a while and then suggested two names. I contacted one of them and was told that he was not in Kingston and wouldn't be back till three months later. I contacted the other student and was told she was interested in being an informant for my study after the purpose of the study was explained to her. She was then given a questionnaire (see Appendix A) to permit collection of her personal background information. Since her background met the requirements of the study, I decided to use her as the Canadian subject for my study. The following is a brief introduction of her personal background.

Linda, (as with the Chinese students, the subject was assigned a pseudonym), female, aged 42, was an M.ED. student at Queen's university. She earned a B.A. in sociology and Art History and B.ED. in Elementary/Secondary Education. For the purpose of this study, she is considered a typical Canadian speaker of English because she was born in Canada and grew up in Canada and has lived in Canada all her life. Linda had visited several western countries, among which were Switzerland and the United States; however, she had never visited any Asian countries. Even though she had engaged in occasional visits to other western countries during adulthood, I believe these visits would not have changed her Canadian meaning system that had been established. The language she used for thinking was English, although she had minimal level of French. She learnt French 20 years ago in Switzerland and never used it after she was back in Canada.

Stimulus Words

The English stimulus words used for the study were chosen on the basis of their potential difference in meaning to the Canadian and Chinese subjects. I compiled a possible list of culturally loaded words while analyzing my students' errors in their assignments when I was teaching ESL in China and through my discussions of these word meanings with both Chinese and English speakers before and after I came to Canada. Finally, from a long list of potential culturally loaded words, 10 were chosen as critical stimulus words for the study because of their potential to elicit cross-cultural

differences that may exist between the Canadian subject and the Chinese subjects. In addition, five more words, with apparently less difference in their lexical meanings between the Canadian and Chinese cultural meaning systems, were added to the list of stimulus words for the study. These five words were embedded in the critical stimuli list to serve as "buffer words" (Dalrymple-Alford & Aamiry, 1970). By buffer words, they are meant to separate successive critical words. The buffer words are those that seem to have little cross-cultural differences in meaning. I would not say that they do not have cross-cultural differences or they are not culturally loaded words, but they do not look, at first sight, as complicated as those critical words that look more socially, politically, traditionally, or cognitively based. They play a role no more than to serve as distracters. These five words were selected from Kolers' buffer word list (Kolers, 1963).

The stimulus words used in this study are shown in Table 1:

Table 1

Stimulus Words Used to Elicit Meanings

Critical Words		Buffer Words
park	girlfriend	finger
sexy	propaganda	ink
liberalization	privacy	milk
cohabitation	dragon	window
conservative	individualism	pencil

Procedure

When the final subjects were chosen in the middle of May 1991, a short talk was held between the researcher and each of the four subjects two weeks later, that is, in the first week of June. The purpose of this first talk was to elicit their first impressions on the meaning of each stimulus word. The three Chinese subjects were allowed to use either English or Chinese or a mixture of the two languages, whichever one they thought they could best express their first impression meanings. As had been expected, the Chinese subjects did use both languages to express their impressions. Their first impression responses were recorded on tape and transcribed.

In the third week of June 1991, an open-ended word-association questionnaire (see Appendix B for instructions and for an example of word-association questionnaire sheet) was assigned to each subject. The questionnaire gave English instructions that limited the subject's responses to English only. Each subject did the task individually. I left each subject alone after I was sure that he or she was clear enough about the task and then came back two hours later to pick up the response sheets. After the task, I asked each subject whether the responses he or she made had best represented his or her own personal meanings for each word. I was told by each subject that they did express their personal meanings.

Two weeks later, the three Chinese subjects were asked to answer the same questionnaire for a second time. Without being informed in advance of what task was to be done, each of them was given the same form of the questionnaire containing the same

stimulus words as the previous questionnaire. However, this time the instructions were in Chinese while the stimulus words remained in English. The subjects were required to respond to the questionnaire in Chinese only (see Appendix C for the instructions). They all completed the task individually.

After the data from the first impression talks and from the word-association questionnaires were collected, a subjective scaling task was assigned to each of the subjects. Each word-association response was given back to each subject in mid-July. they were asked to mark their own meanings with one of these three signs '+', '-' or '0'. '+' stands for positive, '0' stands for neutral, and '-' stands for negative. The purpose was to obtain each subject's value system on all the specific meanings of each word.

This task again was completed by subjects separately and individually. Since at certain points, the meanings each subject made were sometimes vague, the follow-up interviews were arranged two weeks after they completed the scaling task. For several reasons, I was not able to reach Linda until late August and the follow-up interview was conducted at that time. All the interviews were straightforward. Each vague meaning was clarified by short questions, for example, 'What do you mean by insulting for the word sexy?' Answers were often brief too, for instance, 'By insulting I mean the word is used insultingly.'

Kolers (1963) has pointed out that a bilingual's languages can act as "interdependent taps" for a common storage, and one's past experiences in some supralinguistic form such as thoughts, ideas, images or sequences of movement "stored

in one language could be retrieved and described directly in the other" (p. 291). Therefore, the interviews with the Chinese subjects were, at certain points, conducted in Chinese so that the conversation could be facilitated and the understandings between the researcher and the Chinese subject could be thorough and maximized because of the fluency of the subject's first language. The time for each interview varied from subject to subject, and the average time was approximately one hour. All the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

Data Collection

First impression talk

The first impressions of the meanings of each word were important to obtain, for they tell us what the first or most active automatic meaning of each word is in a subject's mind. During the first impression talk, each subject was asked the same question: "What's your first impression meaning for this word?" Each subject was required to think rapidly and give first impressions only (Triandis & Osgood, 1958). Each impression talk was recorded by note and by tape. My questions to the Chinese subjects were all raised in English and their responses were mostly in English too.

Word-association task

The open-ended word-association questionnaire was the major task of this study. The purpose was to elicit the most active and most important associations in the subject's mind in either of the languages (English and Chinese for the Chinese subjects and English for the Canadian subject) that were connected to the meanings of each English stimulus word. Each subject was asked to think further about each English stimulus word and then write down 10 associations for the word (i.e., meanings that are connected to, or evoked by, the word). The Chinese subjects were required to fill out the questionnaire twice but at different times. In the first word-association task, both Chinese and Canadian subjects were told to respond to the questionnaire in English only. In the second word-association task that contained the same contents as the first questionnaire, but with Chinese instructions, the Chinese subjects were required to respond to the questionnaire in Chinese only. The purpose for the Chinese subjects to respond twice, but in English and Chinese respectively, was to show whether meanings vary due to their use of different languages.

In the questionnaire, each English stimulus word appeared on the top centre of a response sheet. Space was provided underneath with 10 numbers (from 1 to 10) to indicate where each meaning or association should be given. The response sheet also required the subjects to give synonyms and/or antonyms where applicable for each stimulus word (see Appendix B for both questionnaire instructions and an example sheet). Gross et al. (1989) proposed that, like those of nouns, meanings of certain

adjectives in English are organized in semantic memory by relations of antonymy and synonymy. As the words used in this study were either nouns or adjectives, it could be important to examine the meanings of each word through these semantic relationships. The synonymy/antonymy method would enable the researcher to view the cultural meaning of a word made by an individual from a different perspective. Buffer word pages were inserted with critical word pages.

Every subject completed the task as was required in the instructions. The Canadian subject told me after her task that she was only able to give seven meanings for the word 'liberalization' and eight meanings for the word 'privacy' because she could not think of any more. I told her that it was fine so long as her lexical meanings for the two words had all been reflected in these seven or eight meanings provided.

Value judgments

The data that were obtained from the first impression talks and from the subsequent word-association questionnaires were reviewed and analyzed. The results showed that almost every subject had made subjective meanings as well as descriptive meanings. Subjective meanings refer to the meanings of personal emotional judgements for each critical word. Descriptive meanings refer to the meanings that describe the existence of an objective association in one's mind. Even every descriptive meaning, as was discovered, carries within it a sense of value judgment. Both subjective and descriptive meanings were capable of being scaled according to personal or cultural

value systems into positive, neutral, and negative judgements.

A positive meaning usually suggests an active, useful, laudable or helpful quality of something. For example, 'power' is scaled as a positive meaning for the word 'dragon' in the Chinese response. The might of a dragon symbolizes the strength of the Chinese nation. A negative meaning suggests a disapproving, dubious, passive or contemptible quality of something. For example, 'stubborn' for 'conservative' is scaled as negative in the Chinese response. A stubborn mind of a conservative person is always contemptible for the Chinese speaker. A neutral meaning often suggests a contingent quality of value judgment. In other words, its quality of being positive or negative depends on contexts in which the particular meaning is employed. For example, 'not taking risks' for the word 'conservative' is scaled as neutral in the Canadian subject's response, for, according to her "risk-taking is sometimes necessary in order to achieve something or make some progress but it is sometimes harmful and undesirable" (Canadian Subject).

Follow-up interview

The data from the first impression talk, the questionnaire, and the scaling tasks provided an important basis for the questions to be asked in the clarifying interviews that follow the word-association tasks.

The interview was directed to probe the relationships between prior cultural knowledge and various surface meaning responses. The interview questions were

designed to investigate the meanings the subjects produced in their previous tasks by asking them to clarify or define what underlay the various surface meaning responses. All questions were to determine: from where each meaning or association had been derived, how personal prior cultural knowledge and the semantic knowledge of a word were interrelated, how a target word meaning was made and what strategy the learner was using for the target lexical meaning-making, and how, if applicable, a word meaning was negotiated by the subject between prior and new knowledge in the new target language cultural context.

Most of the questions used were descriptive in nature (Spradley, 1979). The strategies for constructing the questions were based on Spradley's (1979) five major types of descriptive questions and several subtypes. For example, one of the five Spradley's (1979) types of questions is that of 'Example Questions'. This technique was employed to ask the subjects to create sentences with the stimulus word using the particular meaning they had made.

The questions that were frequently used in the follow-up interviews were: What did you mean by ....? Why did you say ...? Can you give an example to make this particular meaning clearer or can you make a sentence with this word using this meaning? Why did you judge it as negative (or positive or neutral)? Did you have any particular reasons for making this meaning? Why did you choose this word for the synonym or antonym? What language did you first use when you were making this particular meaning? What do you think the definition of the word is? Would you feel surprised if the meaning should be made (otherwise)? With the last question, I often

showed the Canadian subject the meaning made by the Chinese subjects, and vice versa, and tried to determine whether he or she felt surprised.

Each interview was tape-recorded and transcribed. To confirm the original data, the subjects were told to read over all the notes and transcripts in both their original language and/or their English translation. The transcripts from the interview with the Chinese subjects (while the language spoken was Chinese) were translated from the original. The translation also was checked by the subjects for accurate expression of their original personal meanings.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSES BY THE THREE CHINESE SUBJECTS

Processing of the Three Word-Association Responses

Data organization

The amount of data from the responses in English by the three Chinese subjects was huge. To make the data visually easier to process, I arranged them in three columns representing the three Chinese subjects' responses. After they were organized, sorted, and analyzed, it was found that some meanings of a word made by one Chinese subject were the same as those made by another Chinese subject. Furthermore, these meanings, as mentioned earlier, could generally be divided into descriptive and subjective meanings according to their semantic nature. Not only can subjective meanings be scaled by cultural value systems but each descriptive meaning carries within it a meaning of value judgment as well.

Further, all of the meanings were coded into cultural categories according to their references in relation to some general aspects of culture. For all the meanings of the 10 critical words in this study, a total of 8 general categories of cultural meanings were identified. They include physical, social, political, personal, traditional, historical, legendary, and value systems.

The meanings under the category of value systems are considered subjective meanings. However, while the meanings under the other categories are basically considered descriptive in this study, each of them carries within it a meaning of personal value judgment since all of the meanings are capable of being scaled as positive, neutral, or negative according to the meaning maker's personal value system. Some of the descriptive meanings show the subject's personal opinions, attitudes, or feelings more strongly and obviously than others. Therefore, these meanings were considered both descriptive and subjective in the present study.

As reflected in the data, a specific meaning may relate to only one general category of cultural meaning. It was also possible for a meaning to be related to several general categories of cultural meanings. This is because all cultural aspects are interrelated and they can often overlap. A meaning may fall under a 'pure' cultural category; it may also fall under some overlapping cultural categories. Therefore, a meaning may just reflect one cultural category, or may also reflect several cultural categories at the same time.

After the data were organized, a large table was designed to reflect the different layers of meaning-making under the parameters discussed above. The table listed vertically in the first column all the meanings each Chinese subject produced in the first impression talk and in the word association response in English (except the meanings from the synonym/antonym responses). Since the meanings that appeared in the first impression talk appeared in the word association responses as well, they were arranged in the same table. Accordingly, when a subject made similar first impression and word

association meanings these were underlined. Each meaning was then coded under the related categories which Bogdan & Biklen (1982) termed as 'coding categories' (p.156). The coding categories were indicated in abbreviated forms in the second column named 'category'. The next three columns were used to show the subjective scales (positive, neutral, or negative) for each meaning that had already been judged by the meaning maker himself or herself. These columns not only reflect which subject made this particular meaning and how it was scaled, but reflect how many subjects made this same meaning as well (for all the detailed information on the table, see Appendix D).

Definitions of categories

For classification of the meanings in the study, there was a need to define each of these categories.

Physical category: meanings that refer to tangible objects or the things that people make, "to which they commonly refer as 'material culture'" (Goodenough, 1981, p. 50), as opposed to things of the mind, spirit, etc.

Social category: meanings that refer to relationships, activities, organizations, and quality of collective life.

Political category: meanings that refer to public affairs and opinion concerning opinions, actions or institutions for, against, or of the government of a country.

Personal category: meanings that refer to things, quality of or private affairs concerning, belonging to, or for the use of a person, or meanings that refer to part of

the body or appearance.

Traditional category: meanings that refer to beliefs, practices, and accepted customs, including customary ways of thinking or behaving that have been passed down and continuously followed for a long time.

Historical category: meanings that are based on or representing things or events in the past.

Legendary category: meanings that refer to ancient people, things, or events told in a legend or myth.

Value systems: a meaning that contains a subjective judgment about the quality of something, based on a person's opinions, attitudes, or feelings that may have connections with the person's background cultural value judgments.

Central Meanings

Overlapping meanings

The results of the data as presented in Appendix D demonstrate that for every 30 meanings made by the 3 subjects for each critical word, almost one third of the total meanings overlapped one another. In other words, two of the subjects or sometimes all of the three subjects were making the same meanings for the same word. As is shown in Figure 1, the overlap of the meanings among the three responses is conspicuous. The digits under the 'Number of Overlapping' indicate how many of the 10 meanings in each

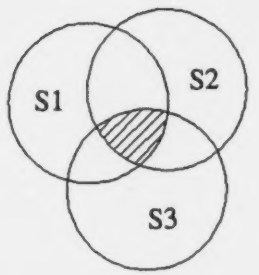
response overlap one another either in a triple overlapping situation or in a double overlapping situation. Triple overlapping refers to a situation in which the same meaning appeared in all the three subjects' responses. For example, every Chinese subject made the meaning 'lake' for the word 'park'. Thus, the meaning 'lake' is in a triple overlapping. Double overlapping refers to a situation in which the same meaning appeared in two of the three responses. For example, S2 and S3 made a same meaning 'conceal' for the word 'privacy'. Thus, this meaning is in a double overlapping. The data show that triple overlapping in meaning is common as the results reveal that all but one word shows triple overlapping in this study. Double overlapping in meaning is even more common because every triple overlapping situation must involve a double overlapping situation as well. In addition to those triple overlapping meanings, each response also contains some overlap in meaning with either of the other two responses.

If we view the three circles in each overlapping situation for each word roughly as a triangle, the central point of the triangle is within or near where the triple overlapping for each word occur. May we assume that this central area represents the central lexical meaning for the word which is shared by all the three subjects and from which they derive the varied specific lexical meanings of their culture? For economy of expression, I call this shared cultural lexical meaning 'central meaning'.

When we consider the meanings of the words 'liberalization' and 'privacy', we see how the meanings that triple overlap play a role in establishing central meanings. In addition, we can see how such a process builds up the central meanings of words and how all the specific meanings in the three responses are related to the central meanings.

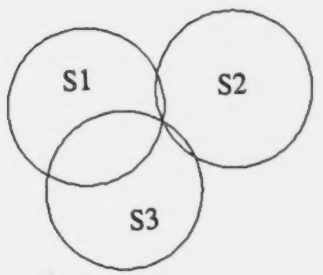
1. Liberalization

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	2
Double	
S1 & S2	5
S1 & S3	4
S2 & S3	4



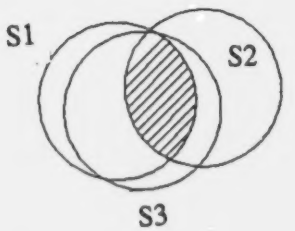
2. Conservative

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	0
Double	
S1 & S2	1
S1 & S3	4
S2 & R4	1



3. Propaganda

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	4
Double	
S1 & S2	4
S1 & S3	7
S2 & S3	5



4. Individualism

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	1
Double	
S1 & S2	3
S1 & S3	4
S2 & S3	3

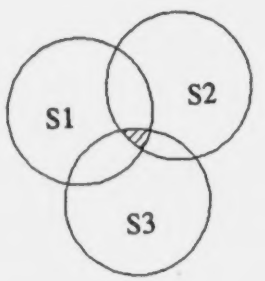
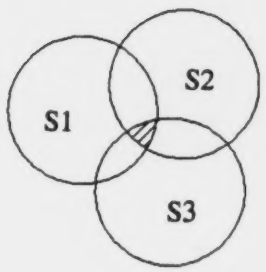


Figure 1 Overlapping in Meaning by the Three Chinese Subjects

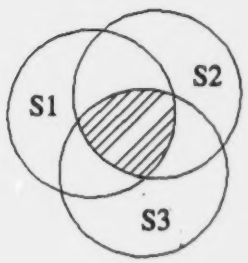
5. Sexy

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	1
Double	
S1 & S2	3
S1 & S3	3
S2 & S3	4



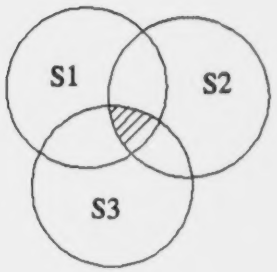
6. Cohabitation

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	3
Double	
S1 & S2	5
S1 & S2	4
S2 & S3	4



7. Girlfriend

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	1
Double	
S1 & S2	4
S1 & S3	3
S2 & S3	4



8. Privacy

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	1
Double	
S1 & S2	1
S1 & S3	4
S2 & S3	5

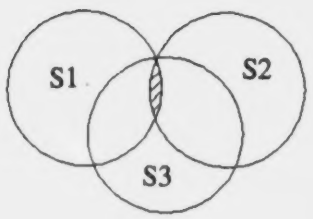
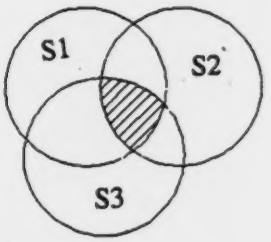


Figure 1 (*continued*) Overlapping in Meaning by the Three Chinese Subjects

9. Park

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	2
Double	
S1 & S2	4
S1 & S3	5
S2 & S3	3



10. Dragon

Overlapping	Number of Overlapping
Triple	2
Double	
S1 & S2	5
S1 & S3	3
S2 & S3	4

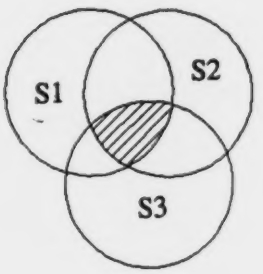


Figure 1 (*continued*) Overlapping in Meaning by the Three Chinese Subjects

'Liberalization' is a politically loaded word. The two triple overlapping meanings are: 1) too liberal to be controlled, and 2) anarchy. Hence, the shared central concept for the word by the three subjects can be assumed as 'to be free from control is considered to be anarchical'. Closely related to this shared meaning are the meanings that are double overlapped. For example, 'harmful to collectivism' is related to the central meaning because 'collectivism is highly disciplined and well controlled' (S2 & S3). 'Radical' refers to extreme opinions or conduct that is representative of an out-of-control situation (S1 & S2). 'Slackness in discipline' is a necessary quality possessed by anarchists and liberals (S1 & S3). 'Harmful to social steadiness' and 'a situation of turmoil' are social consequences of anarchical practice (S1 & S3). '1989 Tienanmen

Square Event' refers to a situation in which the Chinese students demonstrated for democracy for China and which the government denounced as 'bourgeois liberalization' and 'political turmoil' (S1 & S3).

The same is true of those individual meanings that do not overlap with other meanings in the other two responses. For instance, 'want to be free from control of the government', 'too much freedom', 'liberalism' and 'irresponsible' are all the similar expressions to the shared central meanings assumed above. 'Safeguard', 'restriction', 'prison' all refer to the methods of control by government in order to keep the social order. 'Freedom' and 'democracy' reflect the extended meanings of '1989 Tienanmen Square Movement'. 'Contrary to self-constraint' derives from the Chinese traditional culture in which self-constraint is considered a much advocated quality that can help to keep the bourgeois anarchist tendency under control (S1).

'Privacy' is a personally and socially loaded word. The triple overlapping meaning is 'personal secrets', which we can assume as the shared central meaning for the word 'privacy'. The double overlapping meanings reflect the shared concepts. 'Concerning private' (S1 & S3) is a similar expression to the partial central concept 'personal'. 'Conceal' refers to the act of covering up the secrets (S2 & S3). 'Things one never wants to be revealed to the public'(S2 & S3) is a definition for the central concept 'personal secrets'. 'Sexual affairs' (S1 & S3) and 'love' (S2 & S3) both are considered important contents of the personal secrets. 'Sneaky' (S1 & S3) and 'furtive' (S2 & S3) reflect value judgments on the conduct of hiding away the secrets from others.

Similarly, those individual meanings that do not overlap also revolve closely

around the shared meaning. For instance, 'keeping to oneself', 'deep in mind' and 'calm' all refer to the state of keeping secrets to oneself. By 'calm', S1 actually meant 'keeping silent' as disclosed by the interview. 'Indecent conduct' reflects a fact that personal secrets are largely considered to be the things that many Chinese people find difficult to bring up or that are shameful and scandalous, hence 'indecent' (S3). 'Divorce' is cited as an example of an indecent secret. 'Personal relationship with others' refers especially to an unpleasant relationship with another person that one doesn't want others to know about. This is another example of personal secret (S2). 'Family affairs' especially refers to family scandals that one doesn't want to be made public (S2). 'Family financial issues' usually refers either to the time when one's family feels strained for money, which is considered a domestic shame, or to the time when one's family owns an extraordinary sum of money the sources of which can be considered dubious (S2). 'Not disturbed' refers to personal affairs not to be interfered with by others (S1). 'Quietly living far away from the public' can be a way of escaping the public disclosure of one's personal secret affairs (S1). 'Rumour' can be a wild guess about one's secrets that one wants to cover up; a possible consequence of concealment of secrets (S3). 'Mysterious' reflects the feelings about the conduct of keeping secrets (S1).

However, central meanings for a culturally loaded word are not necessarily those that are most overlapped among a group of responses. In the case of the meanings for the word 'conservative', no triple overlapping situation appears. It does not mean that there is not a culturally shared central meaning for this word. From those double

overlapping meanings, such as 'cannot put the society forward', 'keep things in current status quo', 'retrogressive', 'old fashioned' and 'still', we do not have much difficulty finding out an underlying Chinese central concept that governs these responses. The inferred central concept may be interpreted as 'conservative means status quo that has not only a sense of no progress but retrogression as well'. As can be seen, the rest of the meanings in the three responses for the word 'conservative' reflect this central idea.

Sometimes a central meaning is not immediately seen even in a triple overlapping situation. Take the meanings for 'park' in the three responses; the two triple overlapping meanings 'flowers' and 'lake' are obviously not the central meanings for the word. However, the meanings that overlap the most among the responses are important components of the central meanings. Based on the other overlapping meanings in the three responses, the central meaning for the word 'park' is 'a beautiful entertaining public environment'. The fact is that in China things such as flowers, mountains or hills, and waters are always considered the most important components of beauty for a public environment such as a park -- hence, the triple overlapping meanings for this word in the responses.

First impression meaning

The data show that the meanings made in the first impression talk by a subject were repeated in the subsequent word-association response by the same subject (see the underlined items in Appendix D). There are a total of 67 first impression meanings in

the three responses. Only 12 first impression meanings do not have overlap. These first impression meanings not only reflect the most automatic and typical meanings for a word in an individual's mind, but they are often the publicly shared and culturally representative meanings. Therefore, the first impression meanings are certainly another important source of locating the central meanings for a culturally loaded word.

For example, the first impression meanings for the word 'propaganda' in the three responses are: 'radio', 'TV', 'newspapers', 'magazines', 'influential', 'either useful or harmful'. Hence, a central concept for the word comes out clearly after piecing together these ideas, that is, 'propaganda is anything publicized mostly through such media as radio, TV, newspapers, etc. and which is influential and can either be judged as useful or harmful.'

The word 'individualism' has elicited such first impression meanings from the subjects, as 'without considering the interests of the people and society', 'only concern one's own interests', 'selfish' and 'bad'. Thus, the central meaning can just be 'a person's selfish idea or conduct'. The first impression meanings for the word 'sexy' are 'body attraction', 'seducing', 'induce males', 'sex', 'coquettish' and 'mean'. The central meaning thus interpreted as 'sexy means using seductive body appearance to induce males or females, which is coquettish and mean'. In a similar interpretive way, primarily based on the first impression meanings by the three subjects, the central meaning for 'cohabitation' may be 'for a man and a woman to live together without marriage is unlawful and immoral'. The central meaning for 'girlfriend' is 'fiancée'. The central meaning for 'dragon' is 'symbolic of power and luck'.

Table 2

The Shared Central Meanings for Each Word in the Three Chinese English-Second-Language Responses

Words	Conceptual Meanings	Connotation
Liberalization	to be free from control is considered to be anarchical	to be anarchical is irresponsible - negative
Conservative	conservative means status quo that has not only a sense of no progress but retrogression as well	no progress means backward and retrogressive - negative
Propaganda	propaganda is anything publicized mostly through such media as radio, TV, newspapers, etc. which is influential and can either be judged as useful or harmful	can either be positive or negative
Individualism	a person's selfish ideas or conduct	selfishness - negative
Sexy	sexy means using seductive body appearance to induce males, which is coquettish and mean	coquettish and mean - negative
Cohabitation	for a man and a woman to live together without marriage is unlawful and immoral	unlawful and immoral - negative
Girlfriend	fiancée	positive relationship
Privacy	shameful personal secrets	shameful - negative
Park	a beautiful entertaining public environment	positive recreational place
Dragon	dragon is symbolic of power and luck	a positive symbol

Table 2 summarizes all the shared central meanings of culture identified from the first impression meanings and overlapping meanings produced in the three responses for each of the 10 words examined in this study. As reflected, a central meaning is often a whole idea or statement containing both conceptual and connotative information pertaining to the specific cultural references of the word.

Subjective Scaling

Overall reflection

Wherever the meanings overlapped, the value judgments scaled by the subjects were often unanimous. Consider the word 'liberalization' for example. The meanings 'too liberal to be controlled' and 'anarchy' were suggested by all three subjects. In addition, all three subjects uniformly scaled these two meanings as negative. Two of the subjects made the meaning '1989 Tienanmen Square Event', and both scaled it as positive. However, there were exceptions in which two or three subjects suggested the same meaning but scaled it differently. For instance, S2 judged the meaning 'advertisements' for the word 'propaganda' as positive while the other two judged it as neutral. Also S3 judged the meanings 'radio', 'TV', 'newspapers' as neutral while S1 and S2 judged them as positive. But such differences are only one scale apart, that is, only between positive and neutral or between negative and neutral. Neutral, in this study, has two possible meanings. One is that the meaning is neither positive nor

Table 3
Subjective Scaling of Value Judgments by the Three Chinese Subjects

Words	No. of Positive Meanings	No. of Neutral Meanings	No. of Negative Meanings	Total Ratio + 0 -
Liberalization	S1 3 S2 3 S3 1	S2 1	S1 7 S2 6 S3 9	7 : 1 : 22
Conservative		S1 1	S1 9 S2 10 S3 10	0 : 1 : 29
Propaganda	S1 6 S2 7 S3 3	S1 3 S2 2 S3 5	S1 1 S2 1 S3 2	16 : 10 : 4
Individualism		S2 1 S3 2	S1 10 S2 9 S3 8	0 : 3 : 27
Sexy		S1 1 S2 1	S1 9 S2 9 S3 10	0 : 2 : 28
Cohabitation		S1 3 S3 1	S1 7 S2 10 S3 9	0 : 4 : 26
Girlfriend	S1 8 S2 6 S3 7	S1 2 S2 2 S3 2	S2 1 S3 1	21 : 6 : 2
Privacy		S1 4 S2 2 S3 2	S1 6 S2 8 S3 8	0 : 8 : 22
Park	S1 10 S2 10 S3 8	S3 1	S3 1	28 : 1 : 1
Dragon	S1 9 S2 9 S3 8	S1 1 S2 1 S3 2		26 : 4 : 0

Note: S indicates subject.

negative. The other is that the meaning's chance of being positive or negative is open and its value judgement depends largely on the context in which the word is used.

To summarize the scaling of meanings in Appendix D, let me present the data quantitatively. Table 3 indicates how many positive (or neutral or negative) meanings of each word were made by each of the three subjects. It reflects statistical differences as well as similarities between the three subjects in subjective scaling of value judgments on all meanings for each word. The purpose of using the numbers is to help reflect the data more simply and convincingly.

In Table 3, the number beside each subject (S1, S2 or S3) refers to how many positive, neutral, or negative meanings this particular subject made for the specific word. The column called 'Total Ratio' is a summary of the overall scaling for each word to give a general reflection on the subjective scaling by the three subjects. The high scaling numbers versus the low scaling numbers in each word situation reflect the basic agreement of the three subjects in the subjective scaling of value judgments which, in turn, reflect a general cultural value judgment for the overall meanings of each word.

Differences

It is interesting to sort out those meanings represented by low scaling numbers and find out why they stand out as the differences or even 'opposites' of the majority. Take the word 'privacy' which has both negative and neutral meanings with its central and majority meanings being negative. The reasons for judging some meanings as

neutral were made clear through interviews and are now revealed as follows. 'Concerning private' is neutral because even though the meaning 'private' itself is not bad, given the connotation of privacy, its contextual meaning becomes uncertain (S1 & S3). 'Calm' is an understanding attitude towards the shameful secrets and at least better than trying to conceal the shameful secrets (S1). 'Love' should be positive but in this context it mainly refers to clandestine love affairs (S2 & S3). 'Marriage' is not indecent conduct but keeping it secret is puzzling as sometimes one would not like others to know when one would get married (S2). 'Not disturbed' refers that nobody wants personal secrets to be interfered with, but sometimes it is not bad to expose the indecent conduct to the public in order to stop it (S1).

Most of these meanings on the neutral scale should be positive judging by their original concepts. But when they are understood in relation to the negative judgments on the lexical central meanings, their meanings become dependent on contexts. Therefore, these meanings are not conflicting with those central meanings on the negative scale.

The meanings of 'propaganda' are spread on the three scales with its central meanings on both the positive and negative scales. Of the four negative meanings, two are in a double overlapping situation. Therefore, there are only three negative meanings to which each of the three subjects contributed. The following are reasons that account for the differences. 'Political' is an important role that 'propaganda' plays. "While it is politically related, it is negative because I don't like politics" (S3). 'When I was making the meaning and scaling it, I was thinking of the unpopular government often making use of political propaganda to fool people and therefore I judged it negative. But now I

think political propaganda is not necessarily negative. It can be positive as well. For instance, pro-democracy students in Beijing used political propaganda to expose the corruption by some government officials. So this word can be judged as neutral as well' (S1). 'False' refers only to some propaganda that is sometimes improperly used by those who have ulterior motives (S3).

Again such differences in scaling do not contradict the central meanings. Perhaps an interesting example in the scaling of meanings is the word 'liberalization' which, like 'propaganda', has meanings associated on all three scales. Its central meanings, 'to be free from control' and 'anarchical', have been uniformly judged as negative by the three subjects. However, there are as many as six meanings that were placed on the positive scale to which all three subjects contributed. The reasons for the making and scaling of these meanings are as follows. 'Safeguard' means to safeguard the social discipline and stability (S1). 'Ideological liberalization' is "a new term used by the Chinese government to criticize those excellent reformers' new and progressive ideas; I judge it as positive because of these reformers' ideas" (S2). '1989 Tienanmen Square Event' refers to the "Chinese pro-democracy movement which the government denounced as counter-revolutionary turmoil and the result of bourgeois liberalization ... I don't think it is liberalization ... If that is called 'liberalization', I would be in favour of this kind of liberalization" (S1). "This is a student initiated pro-democracy movement not a liberalization movement as the government has reprimanded" (S2). 'Articles, lectures, and demonstrations demanding democracy and freedom' refer to the activities of the pro-democracy movement that took place in China in 1989, which received severe criticism

from the government. These activities are by no means what the meaning of liberalization actually refers to (S2). 'Freedom' and 'democracy' should be the right terms for the description of this Tienanmen Movement which the present government defined as 'liberalization' (S1 & S3).

In the last example, the three subjects have the same understanding of what was happening in China in 1989. There seems to be an obvious discrepancy between what the public and the government mean by liberalization. However, it is clear that whatever the meaning, the word liberalization itself is used only to describe something that is thought to be bad or harmful to society. It is most interesting to point out that perhaps the discrepancy in this particular example has also enabled us to see the dynamic nature of the development in a word's meaning and to see that how a culture may effect a change in a word's cultural meaning both in one's understanding of its definition and in one's value judgment of it.

Throughout the responses in English by the three Chinese subjects, no conflict and contradiction in meaning and in subjective scaling of value judgment of meanings were found. All the meanings of a word were scaled in accordance with the word's central meanings. The meanings made for one word that are either one scale apart or two scales apart in subjective scaling from the central meanings are not contradictory to the central meanings. The three responses also reveal that all three subjects have the same understandings of each lexical central meaning as well as the connotation of the central meaning.

Synonyms and Antonyms

The second section of the word-association questionnaire was designed to elicit the subjects' knowledge of synonyms and antonyms for each specific word so that a word's meaning could be viewed from another perspective. I have arranged these synonyms and antonyms from the English responses by the three Chinese subjects in Table 4 and Table 5 so that we can get a clear view of these meanings.

The data from this section indicate that all subjects responded to this task by producing some synonyms and antonyms from their own point of view. As a complementary group of data, these synonyms and antonyms add to the personal cultural meaning of a word from another perspective. They not only give a personal condensation of the central lexical meaning of culture in two different dimensions but distinctly reflect a broad value judgment of personal pros and cons to the overall cultural meaning for each word as well.

As shown in Table 4 and Table 5, the synonyms and antonyms for each word vary in the form of expression but are similar in the way they revolve around the central meaning. No conflicting synonyms with the central meaning were found. The only interesting phenomenon is that at one or two points, one synonym is not as close to the central meaning as the rest of the synonyms for the word, for example, 'preserved' and 'reserved' for the word 'conservative', 'declaration' for the word 'propaganda' and 'garden' for the word 'park'. Such a deviation, slight as it is, bears a common characteristic in their Chinese translations. 'Preserved' (*Bao Cun*) and 'reserved' (*Bao*

Table 4

Personal Synonyms for Each Word in the Three Chinese Responses

	Personal Synonyms		
Words	Subject 1	Subject 2	Subject 3
Liberalization	slackness in discipline	liberalism; turmoil	anarchy
Conservative	preserved	reserved; vigorless; passive	adhere to past practice; retrogressive
Propaganda	publication; announcement; declaration	communication	spread the news
Individualism	selfishness	diversified	selfishness
Sexy	loose; wanton; salacious	seductive	coquettish; mean
Cohabitation		illegal marriage	illicitly living with a person of the other sex
Girlfriend	fiancée; lover	fiancée	future wife
Privacy	secret	secret; concealment	
Park			garden
Dragon		animal; power	

Liu) in Chinese contain a Chinese word (*Bao*) which is the same word in (*Bao Shou*) meaning 'conservative'. The word (*Bao*) in Chinese basically means 'keep and

Table 5

Personal Antonyms for Each Word in Three Chinese Responses

	Personal Antonyms		
Words	SUBJECT 1	SUBJECT 2	SUBJECT 3
Liberalization	disciplined	restriction; control; check	stabilization
Conservative	creative; reformatory; innovational	active; open; outgoing	progressive
Propaganda	secret	silence	
Individualism	altruism	collectivism	collectivism
Sexy	decent; serious; honest	chaste; simple	beautiful; dignified
Cohabitation	separation	separation	
Girlfriend	boyfriend	boyfriend	boyfriend
Privacy public	publicity;	openness	
Park			
Dragon			

maintain'. 'Declaration' (*Xuan Gao*) contains the word (*Xuan*) which is the same word in (*Xuan Chuan*) meaning 'propaganda'. The word (*Xuan*) in Chinese basically means 'make known publicly'. Similarly, the synonym 'garden' (*Hua Yuan*) in Chinese contains the word (*Yuan*) which is the same word in (*Gong Yuan*) meaning 'park'. In Chinese, *Yuan* basically means 'an area of land for growing plants'. While these words

in Chinese can roughly be considered as synonyms to the target words, they become much less so in the English language context.

Some synonyms are more words of value judgment than words of synonymity. Such examples include, 'selfishness' for the word 'individualism'; 'loose', 'wanton', 'salacious', 'seductive', 'coquettish' and 'mean' for the word 'sexy', etc. The reasons for generating such synonyms are explained by the subjects themselves:

> (S3) - "These words are often used in the sense of criticism and censure on someone. They are rarely used without such a sense. For me, the one who practice individualism is necessarily the one who is selfish. Therefore, they are synonyms." (August 6, 1991)
>
> (S1) - "When someone says 'you are sexy,' it's a big insult to you. The speaker is to say you are skittish. In other words, you are looking the way as if you want to seduce males in a mean way. So I think sexy is just the synonym for coquettish and mean." (August 9, 1991)

The explanations by the two subjects suggest that cultural synonyms for some words are not necessarily similar in conceptual definition but, more importantly, are similar in connotative meanings. Although 'selfishness' can express a similar connotative characteristic of individualism and 'coquettish' and 'mean' of sexy in the Chinese language context, the two are hardly synonymous in denotation. Even though the synonym does not carry much of a denotative part of the central meaning for a word, it carries the connotative part of the central meaning which is just as important as, or even more important than, the conceptual meaning for the word.

Table 5 presents an antonymous picture of all these words. The table allows us to examine both the central conceptual meaning and the subjective meaning of a word from opposite points of view. Personal differences between the three subjects manifest themselves in the table. But again these differences are only reflected in their different use of expressions. The meanings of these antonymous expressions further demonstrate that all three subjects' personal meanings for each word show no basic differences from the shared subjective meanings of value judgment as well as from the central conceptual meanings for each word.

General Categories and Specific Meanings

General Categories

As shown in Appendix D, every meaning is coded into one or more descriptive or subjective category according to how each meaning is connected to a related aspect of culture. Such meanings are interesting to examine and compare on two levels. First, the analysis reveals the general cultural aspects of each critical word's meanings and whether or not the three responses are similar in cultural references of lexical meaning. Second, the analysis may disclose whether or not all the meanings for each word in the three responses have common specific cultural reflections.

Table 6 shows how the meanings of each word in each subject's word-association responses fall into the general cultural categories. The results show that most subjects'

meanings for each word fall into the same general cultural category. For such words as 'conservative', 'propaganda', 'privacy', 'park' and 'dragon', all of the meanings for each word are coded into the same categories by all three subjects. For example, each subject's meanings for the word 'dragon' are coded into the categories of the physical, traditional, historical, legendary and value systems.

Personal variations at this general level reveal themselves, too. 'Liberalization', 'individualism', 'sexy', 'cohabitation' and 'girlfriend' each have at least one variant from the main cultural categories into which the most of the meanings by the three subjects are coded. These variations include (see the following underlined terms): (a) 'prison' (political and physical) by S2 for 'liberalization'; (b) 'contrary to the traditionally advocated Chinese values of collectivism' (traditional and value systems) by S2 for 'individualism; (c) 'seductive dresses' (social and physical) by S2 & S3 and 'sex' (social and personal) by S3 for 'sexy'; (d) 'opposite to the traditional moral standards' (traditional and value systems) by S3 for 'cohabitation'; and (e) 'a relationship recognized by parents of both sides' (social and traditional) by S2 for 'girlfriend'. The point is that none of these variations forms an independent category.

The comparison reveals that the meanings suggested by the three Chinese ESL learners are for the most part within the same general cultural categories. These general categories are closely related to the central conceptual knowledge of the word itself. For example, the word 'girlfriend', based on its central meaning, is both a socially and personally loaded word. The data from these subjects show that both the social category and the personal category are the major categories of all the meanings for the word

Table 6

Categories of Lexical Meanings for Each Word in the Three Chinese English-Second-Language Responses

Words	CATEGORIES AND SUBJECTS							
	Physical	Social	Political	Personal	Traditional	Historical	Legendary	Value System
Liberalization	S2		S1 S2 S3					S1 S2 S3
Conservative		S1 S2 S3	S1 S2 S3					S1 S2 S3
Propaganda	S1 S2 S3	S1 S2 S3	S1 S2 S3					S1 S2 S3
Individualism		S1 S2 S3		S1 S2 S3	S2			S1 S2 S3
Sexy	S2 S3	S1 S2 S3		S1				S1 S2 S3
Cohabitation		S1 S2 S3			S3			S1 S2 S3
Girlfriend		S1 S2 S3		S1 S2 S3	S2			S1 S2 S3
Privacy		S1 S2 S3		S1 S2 S3				S1 S2 S3
Park	S1 S2 S3	S1 S2 S3			S1 S2 S3			S1 S2 S3
Dragon	S1 S2 S3				S1 S2 S3	S1 S2 S3	S1 S2 S3	S1 S2 S3

'girlfriend'.

As such, no major differences in the meanings among the three responses were identified. Even though personal variations appear, they do not constitute any unique categories to form a real idiosyncratic meaning independent of the major categories, instead, they serve to consolidate or illustrate the meaning of the major categories.

Specific meanings

A specific meaning refers to a particular meaning made by a speaker which often has a cultural reference which the speaker with that cultural background may often use in practice. While the general categories of lexical meanings reflect the central conceptual knowledge of a word, the specific meanings made within these general categories by the second or foreign language learners can reflect more specifically the learners' prior cultural knowledge. For the specific meanings in all 3 responses for the 10 critical words in the study, 5 aspects of meaning-making by the Chinese subjects were identified.

Culture-specific This group of meanings refers to specific people, things or events in the learner's prior culture. Such a feature in meaning-making seems common across the words in this case study. For example, under the physical category, the word 'park' has the meanings 'hills', 'lakes', 'enclosed by walls' and 'pavilions'. The word 'dragon' has 'dragon gown', 'dragon relief' and 'dragon brand tea'. Under the social category, the word 'dragon' has the meaning 'Spring Festival'. Under the political

category, the word 'liberalization' has the meaning '1989 Tienanmen Square Event'. The word 'conservative' has the meaning 'ultra-leftists' which refers to those hard-liners in the Chinese government (S3). The word 'propaganda' has the meaning 'Propaganda Department' which is a government agency in China (S2). All these are the meanings that reflect some social and political phenomena specific to the Chinese culture. Of course, most of those meanings under the traditional, historical, legendary categories are naturally connected to the specific aspects of Chinese traditional culture.

Value judgement Three Chinese subjects have made meanings of value judgment for almost every word in their responses. These subjective meanings have not only reflected the central connotative meanings for each word, but more significantly, reflected the general Chinese cultural value system for certain things represented by the words. For example, all the three Chinese subjects tend to view the individual importance represented by the word 'individualism' as 'selfish'. This general cultural view (note: only in the context for the word 'individualism') is not unreasonable in the Chinese culture where collectivism has been traditionally stressed and respected. It is assumed that some value systems may vary from culture to culture.

Traditional meanings In several instances in the three Chinese word-association responses, meanings concerning Chinese traditional aspects of culture show up. For example, the meanings 'pavilions; artificial hills' for the word 'park' have to do with the long tradition in China of beautifying public recreational places with pavilions and artificial rocks and hills, and often described in the classic novels (S1). The meaning 'opposite to the traditional moral standards' for the word cohabitation affirms that

cohabitation almost customarily refers to a man and a woman outside of marriage. Such conduct has been a taboo in the long history of China where it has always been labelled as immoral (S3). In addition, 'to stand on ceremony' for the word 'conservative' is a criticism of a conservative person who follows the stereotyped way of doing things (S2). 'A relationship recognized by parents of both sides' for the word 'girlfriend' is an example of Chinese Confucian ethical code according to which the relationship between a boyfriend and a girlfriend is supposed to be made known to parents and to get approval from the parents (S2). 'Imperial power' and 'prestige' for the word 'dragon' reflect Chinese traditional respect for emperor and his imperial power and prestige. 'Contrary to the traditionally advocated philosophy of collectivism' for the word 'individualism' explains why individualism has been belittled in Chinese history. All these meanings represent a Chinese traditional way of understanding. For traditional aspects of culture to constitute such a big component of the total meanings, perhaps the long and rich history of the Chinese culture may constitute an important factor.

Details Another common characteristic of lexical meaning-making by the three Chinese subjects is the making of many specific details of the meanings connected to each word. These details often include specific cultural examples (e.g., 'divorce' for the word privacy) that serve to illustrate the central meanings of a word. They can also be a cultural component of a central meaning itself (e.g., 'without considering the interests of the people and the society' for the word individualism).

Symbolic The three subjects made several symbolic meanings out of the word dragon such as 'power, might, luck, dignified, emperor', etc. In the long history of

Chinese culture, dragon, an imaginary creature by definition, has always been respected for its power and grandeur, much portrayed in the Chinese classic tales. All the dynasties of past ages used it as a symbol representing the emperor's dignity and prestige. The Chinese people regard it respectfully as a national symbol that can bring them protection and luck.

All the above five aspects of specific meanings are culturally reflective. The data indicate that the three subjects have about a similar focus in these specific areas of meanings for the 10 words. In contrast to the general categories that reflect the semantic knowledge of a word, the specific meanings reflect each speaker's specific prior cultural experience related to the word.

Summary

The comparative analysis in this chapter focused mainly on the perceived similarities and differences in lexical meaning responses in English by the three Chinese ESL subjects. The analysis is built on the multi-layer comparisons of cultural meanings for a word -- central meaning, subjective connotation, synonyms and antonyms, lexical cultural categories, and specific focusing aspects.

An important finding in this chapter is the identification of the existence of a central cultural meaning for a second language word shared among the adult second language learners with the same cultural background. The analysis reveals that all the meanings made by the three Chinese ESL subjects for each word have, in one way or

another, pointed to a similarly perceived cultural central meaning for each culturally loaded word. This central meaning is often not only the first impression or most typical meaning that exists in the individual's mind, but the meaning that is shared by almost all of the second language learners with the same home culture.

The three Chinese ESL subjects can be said to share similar personal value judgments on the meanings for each word. The analysis has revealed that for the central meaning of a culturally loaded word, the personal value judgment is more often than not influenced by the learner's prior cultural value system. Personal differences in the subjective scaling of value judgments exist on specific meanings. But they do not differ to such an extent that they are contradictory to the identified central cultural meaning for any particular word.

This chapter has also examined the synonyms and antonyms from the three subjects' responses. The synonyms and antonyms serve to present the central lexical meaning of culture in a condensed form of expression from two different dimensions. They further reflect a broad value judgment of personal pros and cons on the meaning of a culturally loaded word. The analysis of the data reveals that cultural synonyms or antonyms are not necessarily similar or different in conceptual meaning but may sometimes vary only in connotative meaning. While the specific personal word-association meanings seem to vary widely, the synonyms and antonyms in the three responses indicated more consistency. The personal differences in synonyms and antonyms were few and only reflected in different use of expressions. They show no basic contradiction to the shared subjective meanings of value judgment and the central

conceptual meanings for each word.

All the lexical meanings in the three subjects' responses were analyzed according to their coverage of cultural categories and to their specific meanings across words. The comparison leads to the conclusions that the meanings made by the three Chinese ESL learners are for the most part within the same major range of cultural categories for a word and that this range mainly reflects the conceptual knowledge of the word. In contrast, the specific meanings are more reflective of each learners' prior cultural experience with the word. For all 10 culturally loaded words five aspects of focus shared by the three Chinese ESL subjects have been identified in this Chapter.

The findings from this Chapter will serve as the contrast material to be used for cross-cultural comparisons of first and second language lexical meaning-making in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS IN LEXICAL MEANING-MAKING

Central Meanings

Canadian baseline lexical meanings

As indicated in the previous chapter, the central cultural meaning for a word consists primarily of both conceptual and connotative meanings. No doubt the most typical conceptual part of the baseline Canadian central meaning should be accessible from the Canadian English dictionary. The Gage Canadian English Dictionary (GCED) (Avis et al., 1983) was chosen for that purpose. Based on the definitions provided in GCED for each of the 10 words, the conceptual aspect of central meaning for each word is acquired.

However, the conceptual meanings *solely* from GCED are not comparable with the central meanings summarized from the Chinese subjects' responses to the English stimulus words. The reason for this incomparability is that the central meanings from the Chinese subjects consist of both conceptual and connotative meanings. However, while GCED has provided the conceptual meanings for each word, it rarely explicitly describes the connotation of each word. The response by the Canadian native English speaker is needed to provide connotative meaning and enhance comparability. All the meanings for the 10 words in the word-association response by the Canadian subject are

Table 7

Canadian Central Meanings for Each Word

Words	Conceptual Dictionary Meanings For each Word	Cultural Connotation
Libera-lization	making or becoming broad-minded; freeing oneself from narrow ideas or others' control	open-mindedness; more freedom in sprit - positive
Conser-vative	inclined to do things as they are; opposed to change	not radical; kind of thinking - positive
Propa-ganda	spreading opinions or beliefs, especially by distortion and deception	lies and untrue stories - negative
Indivi-dualism	individuality; a theory that individual freedom is as important as the welfare of the community or group as a whole; the importance of individuals	free thought; not a follower - positive theory
Sexy	sexually provocative or stimulating	attractive or erotic
Cohabi-tation	living together as husband and wife, especially when not legally married	values systems vary from person to person - neutral
Girl-friend	a female companion of a boy or man; sweetheart or lover	companionship of love - positive
Privacy	the state of being away from others; secrecy; not publicity	protected rights - positive
Park	a piece of land kept as a recreation area for camping, picnicking, hiking, etc.	recreational place - positive
Dragon	a monster, usually conceived of as a huge, fierce, lizardlike or snakelike creature, often having wings like a bat and often capable of breathing out fire and smoke; a fierce, belligerent, or extremely stern person	scary monster, fearful - negative image

arranged in Appendix E approximately in the same way as the meanings by the Chinese subjects are arranged in Appendix D.

A comparison between the response by the Canadian subject and the GCED dictionary (Avis et al., 1983) lexical meaning reveals that the meanings made by the Canadian subject fundamentally reflect the Canadian English dictionary definitions. The responses by the Canadian subject are used to provide further cultural connotative information to make up the complete baseline Canadian English central meanings for each word. Table 7 shows both conceptual and cultural connotative aspects of Canadian English lexical central meanings.

Chinese-Canadian central meaning comparison

The group of meanings in Table 7 serve as the baseline Canadian lexical central meanings for comparison with the Chinese ESL lexical central meanings summarized in Table 2. The comparisons are aimed at exploring the similarities and differences between the baseline Canadian English version and the Chinese ESL version of each word. The results show that while similarity exists between each pair of central meanings in the two versions, variations also demonstrate themselves notably. Table 8 provides, in point form, the summary of such similarities and differences.

As revealed, the similarity primarily lies in the partial overlap of conceptual meanings. To be more exact, there are two kinds of situations involved in what I call the partial conceptual overlap. In Situation 1 part of the conceptual meanings in one version overlap part of the conceptual meanings in the other, while the rest of the meanings in one version diverge from the rest of the meanings in the other. In Situation

Table 8

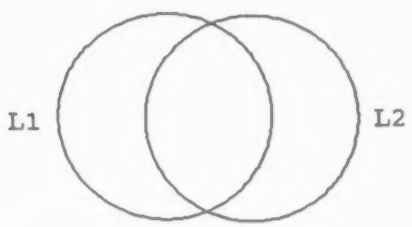
Chinese-Canadian Central Meaning Variations

Words	Chinese-Canadian Central Meaning Comparisons Canadian L1 Version	 Chinese L2 Version
Libera-lization	1. broad-mindedness 2. free from narrow ideas 3. free from control	1 & 2 are not existent; 3 is existent; anarchical
Conser-vative	1. do things as they are 2. opposed to change 3. not radical	both 1 & 2 are existent; 3 is not existent; retrogressive
Propa-ganda	1. spreading opinions or beliefs 2. by distortion and deception	1 & 2 are only partially existent as in the following: anything publicized; either negative or positive
Indivi-dualism	1.individual freedom as important as the welfare of a community 2.importance of individual	1 is non-existent; 2 is partially existent; selfish
Sexy	1. sexually provocative or stimulating 2. attractive or erotic	1 is existent; 2 is non-existent; coquettish and mean
Cohabi-tation	1. man and woman living together without legally married	1 is existent; illegal and immoral conduct
Girl-friend	1. female friend 2. sweetheart and lover	1 & 2 are existent; stress the chance of getting married to her boyfriend; fiancée
Privacy	1. secrecy 2. being away from others 3. not publicity	1, 2 & 3 are all existent; stress the shameful contents of secrecy
Park	1. a public recreational place 2. for recreational activities	1 & 2 are existent; stress its beautiful environment
Dragon	1. legendary description 2. fierce-looking monster	1 is existent; 2 is non-existent; symbolic of power and luck

2 the central conceptual meanings in one version are wholly included in the central conceptual meanings in the other, the former being only part of the latter.

In light of the comparative data in Table 8, both these types of partial overlap of conceptual meanings between the Canadian L1 version of English and the Chinese L2 version of ESL have been identified. The comparative results show that Situation 1 describes the overlapping situation for the concepts of 'liberalization', 'conservative', 'propaganda', 'individualism', 'sexy' and 'dragon' between the two versions. Situation 2 applies to the overlapping situation for the concepts of 'cohabitation', 'girlfriend', 'privacy' and 'park' between the two versions (See figure 2 for these two situations):

Situation 1: Conceptual overlap with different boundaries



Situation 2: Conceptual inclusion with additional boundaries

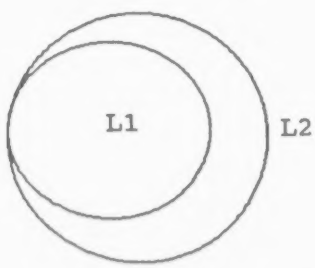


Figure 2. **Conceptual Overlapping Situations between Chinese Second Language and Canadian First Language Responses**

Take 'individualism' for example. Central concept 1 (see table 8) in the Canadian version is non-existent in the Chinese ESL version of the central concept. Central concept 2 in the baseline Canadian version is perceived as only partially existent in the Chinese conceptual version. In addition, the concept 'selfish' in the Chinese ESL version is not existent in the baseline Canadian version. Hence, there occurs the Situation 1 of conceptual overlap with differential boundaries between the two versions. Take another word 'privacy'. All the Canadian central concepts 1, 2 and 3 are also existent in the Chinese central concept. However, in the Chinese ESL version of central meaning for the word there is one more essential component, 'shameful', which is non-existent in the baseline Canadian English concept.

The result indicates that an L2 speaker and the native speaker of that language only share between them a partial concept of a culturally loaded word in that language. The L2 speaker makes meaning of an L2 word, taking either part or all of the original central concept of the word. However, when the central concept of an L2 word is made either through taking a part or the all of the original lexical concept in the target language, the resultant concept is no longer the same as the original concept. This study shows that with the influence of their prior cultural knowledge, the L2 speakers tend to add extra meaning to the part of the original central concept that they have taken from the target word. Both Situation 1 and Situation 2 in Figure 2 show that the part of the Chinese ESL version of the concept which does not overlap with the Canadian version seems to be an extension of the shared part.

The comparison does not provide any evidence of either cultural conceptual

congruence -- that is, the existence of the L2 version of a concept that is identical in all its central conceptual components to the L1 version of the concept, nor of zero overlapping -- that is, the existence of the L2 version of a concept where none of its components is common to the L1 version. This phenomenon shows that the critical words used in this study are all, in light of the definition, culturally loaded words for the Chinese ESL learners. It also demonstrates that there is always a shared part of the central concept for a culturally loaded word between the L2 and the L1 version. It is this shared part of the concept, regardless of its cross-cultural differences in a value system which will be examined in the next section that provides the common ground for the L2 speaker and the native speaker of the target language to communicate with that word.

Value Judgments

Differences in subjective scaling

The information on subjective scaling of value judgment on each meaning in the response to each word by the Canadian Subject is indicated in Appendix E. Table 9 summarizes the total ratio of subjective scaling of the meanings for each word in the Canadian response. Although the Canadian subject only made seven meanings for the word 'liberalization' and eight meanings for the word 'privacy' in her response, it does not affect the reflection of her value judgment on the overall meanings for a word. Like

Table 9
Subjective Scaling of Value Judgments by the Canadian Subject

Words	No. of Positive Meanings	No. of Neutral Meanings	No. of Negative Meanings	Total Ratio + 0 -
Liberalization	6	1		6 : 1 : 0
Conservative	8	2		8 : 2 : 0
Propaganda	10			0 : 0 : 10
Individualism	8	1	1	8 : 1 : 1
Sexy	8	1	1	8 : 1 : 1
Cohabitation	6	2	2	6 : 2 : 2
Girlfriend	6	4		6 : 4 : 0
Privacy	8			8 : 0 : 0
Park	7	3		7 : 3 : 0
Dragon	6		4	6 : 0 : 4

Table 3 (Subjective Scaling of Value Judgments by the Three Chinese Subjects), the high scaling numbers in Table 9 most represent the Canadian cultural value judgment for the central meanings of each word. There is only one exception, that is, the high scaling number (six) vs the low scaling number (four) in the case of 'dragon' fails to reflect the actual value judgment of the response on the central meaning of the word. A closer look at the actual meanings in the response immediately reveals that none of the six meanings that are put on the positive scale directly represents the value judgment on the central concept of the word. Rather, these meanings are the objective descriptions of part of the

image that 'dragon' triggers off such as 'green' and 'large tail'. The 'green' colour and the 'large tail' of the dragon were considered beautiful (Canadian subject). There are also some relevant details in legendary stories. For example, 'medieval time' refers to the time when the stories about the knights and the dragon took place as is described in legend (Canadian subject). 'Knights used to slay them' was scaled positive because the dragon is an evil monster (Canadian Subject). 'Princess' and 'castle' refer to the legendary story in which the knight was described killing the monster and winning the favour of the beautiful princess who lived in the castle (Canadian Subject). Obviously, the last four details from the legend only further go to show the negative value of dragon.

Table 10 reflects the results from both Table 3 and Table 9 and shows the comparison of subjective scaling of value judgment on the central meanings for each word between the Chinese ESL subjects and the Canadian subject. Table 10 indicates that the cross-cultural differences in value judgment are evident in most of the words. For example, the difference for five words is two scales apart, that is, between positive and negative and the difference for three words is one scale apart, that is, either between neutral and positive or between neutral and negative. These results show that the connotation of the central meaning in one culture contrasts dramatically with the connotation in the other.

There is no cross-cultural difference in value judgment on the central meanings of the words 'girlfriend' and 'park'. It happens that both 'girlfriend' and 'park' are non-abstract words as opposed to the other eight words in the study that are more abstract in

Table 10

Chinese-Canadian Central Meaning Comparisons in Subjective Scaling of Value Judgment for each Word

	Value Judgment Comparison in Central Meaning		
Words	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Liberalization	Canadian		Chinese
Conservative	Canadian		Chinese
Propaganda		Chinese	Canadian
Individualism	Canadian		Chinese
Sexy		Canadian	Chinese
Cohabitation		Canadian	Chinese
Girlfriend	Chinese Canadian		
Privacy	Canadian		Chinese
Park	Chinese Canadian		
Dragon	Chinese		Canadian

concept. It may suggest that cross-cultural difference of value judgment in lexical meaning may exist primarily in the words with abstract central concepts.

Values in shared concepts

The cross-cultural differences of value judgment on the overall central meanings

for each word will certainly indicate the differences in connotation, even within the shared part of the concept between the L2 version and the Canadian L1 version. Analysis of the data in Table 8 reveals that a concept that is existent in both versions does in most cases carry a different connotation.

'Free from control' is positive in the Canadian version and negative in the Chinese version. 'Do things as they are' and 'opposed to change' are considered 'not radical', hence positive in the Canadian version whereas in the Chinese version the meanings are considered retrogressive, hence negative. 'Spreading opinions or beliefs' is negative in the Canadian version because it is 'by distortion and deception' whereas 'spreading opinions or beliefs' is neutral in the Chinese version because it is not necessarily by distortion and deception. 'Importance of the individual' is positive in the Canadian version but negative in the Chinese version because "it only means the importance of one's own" (S2). 'Sexually provocative or stimulating' is neutral in the Canadian version whereas it is negative in the Chinese version because "anything related to sex is subject to moral judgment in the Chinese culture and is more often than not negative in connotation" (S3). 'Living together without being legally married' is neutral in the Canadian version because "value systems vary from person to person in our culture" (Canadian subject). The shared concepts for the words 'girlfriend' and 'park' are considered positive in both versions. 'Secrecy', 'being away from others' and 'not publicity' are positive in the Canadian version because "they are all protected rights in light of freedom of information act" (Canadian subject) but considered negative in the Chinese version because they are "shameful", "furtive" or "mysterious" (S1, S2 and S3).

'Legendary description' describes the dragon as an evil monster in the Canadian version whereas the legend describes the dragon as king of all animals and a good symbol of power and luck in the Chinese version.

The analysis shows that in the shared part of the concept, the connotation situation matches the overall value judgment on the whole central meaning for each word between the two versions shown in Table 10. The cross-cultural conceptual and connotative comparisons conducted so far in this chapter help to identify three kinds of lexical meaning relationships between the L2 version of a culturally loaded word and the target language (L1) version of the word.

1. Conceptual overlap and connotative congruence: that is, the central concept in one version overlaps part of the concept in the other version and the connotation of the concept is identical as in the words 'girlfriend' and 'park';

2. Conceptual overlap with different boundaries and connotative contingency, that is, the central meanings in both versions partially overlap but the connotation of the concept in one version is contingent on contexts to which the concept is referred, whereas the connotation in the other version is fixed as in the words 'propaganda', 'sexy' and 'cohabitation';

3. Conceptual overlap and connotative divergence: that is, the central meanings in both versions partially overlap but the connotation of the concept is mutually exclusive between the two versions as in the words 'liberalization', 'conservative', 'individualism', 'privacy' and 'dragon'.

Synonyms and Antonyms

A comparison of synonyms and antonyms between the Chinese ESL response and the native Canadian response provides another perspective on the results of both conceptual and connotative cross-cultural meaning comparisons that were carried out for each word. Table 11 provided the synonyms and antonyms for each word from the Canadian and Chinese responses.

As shown in Table 11, few of the synonyms in either response have been able to express the complete conceptual meaning of a word. Most of them only partially or slightly reflect the central conceptual meaning (e.g., 'publication' for the word 'propaganda' in the Chinese response and 'campsite' for the word 'park' in the Canadian response). However, an important role of a synonym or antonym is that it can reflect the combined central cultural conceptual and the connotative meaning for a word in a most succinct and conclusive manner. For example, the synonym 'lies' and antonym 'truth' for the word 'propaganda' in the Canadian response, and the synonym 'anarchy' and antonym 'stabilization' for the word 'liberalization' in the Chinese version not only reflect, even though partially, the cultural conceptual meaning, but carry a clear connotative meaning as well. The comparative data show clearly that significant cross-cultural difference exists in almost every synonyms and/or antonyms between the two responses. These results tally with the results of comparisons in the previous two sections of this chapter.

The data also help reflect the general tendency of what has been scaled as neutral,

Table 11

Chinese-Canadian Synonyms and Antonyms Comparisons for Each Word

Words	Synonyms		Antonyms	
	Chinese	Canadian	Chinese	Canadian
Liberalization	slackness in discipline;anarchy; liberalism;turmoil	open-mindedness	restriction;control; check;disciplined; stabilization	conservatization
conservative	preserved;vigorless; passive; adhere to past practice;retrogressive	tradionalist	creative;reformatory;active;open; progressive;innovational;outgoing	liberal
Propaganda	publication;spread the news; communication; declaration; announcement	lies	secret; silence	truth
Individualism	selfishness; diversified	individuality	altruism; collectivism	follower
Sexy	loose; mean; salacious; wanton; seductive; coquettish	attractive	decent; serious; honest; beautiful; dignified; chaste; simple	repugnant
Cohabitation	illicitly living with a person of the other sex; illegal marriage		separation	marriage; separation
Girlfriend	fiancée; lover	sweetheart; lover	boyfriend	boyfriend
Privacy	secret; concealment	protected rights;	publicity; openness	public
Park	garden	campsite		desert
Dragon	animal;power	beasts;evil		

that is, connotative contingent meanings in the subjective scaling. For example, the word 'sexy' is considered neutral in the Canadian response. However, its synonym 'attractive' and antonym 'repugnant' reveal that the chance of a positive connotation for this word in the Canadian culture may be broader than that of a negative connotation. In the same way, the word 'propaganda' is considered neutral in the Chinese response. Its synonyms 'publication', 'announcement', 'declaration', 'spreading news' and 'communication' and antonyms 'secret', and 'silence' reveal that the chance of a positive connotation for this word in the Chinese culture may probably be greater than that of a negative connotation.

The comparison demonstrates from another angle that the important cross-cultural differences in meaning-making of a culturally loaded word exist in both conceptual and connotative meanings.

Specific Meanings

Central conceptual category

As discussed in detail in the last chapter, the central meanings of a word serve as a core around which a speaker usually makes the specific meanings of the word. The specific meanings for each word in the Canadian response fall mostly under the same general categories as the meanings in the Chinese ESL responses (see both Appendix E and Appendix D or Table 6). Similar coverage of general categories by specific

meanings for a word in the two responses occurs because the conceptual categories of central meanings for a word in the two responses are often similar. Take the word 'conservative'. Since the central concepts for the word in both versions ('do things as they are', 'opposed to change' and 'not radical' in the Canadian version, and 'status quo' and 'retrogressive' in the Chinese ESL version) all fall within the same categories, that is, they are all closely related to social, political, and value system aspects of culture), the specific meanings made both by the Chinese ESL and by the Canadian speaker will more often than not accordingly fall into these three categories as well.

However, the categories included in the central concepts for a word by the L2 speaker and the native speaker of the target language are not always the same. As a result, the categories of specific meanings of the L2 speaker can differ notably from those of the native speaker. A case in point is the word 'dragon'. While only three major categories are covered by the specific meanings in the Canadian response (legendary, physical and value system), five major categories are covered by the specific meanings in the Chinese ESL responses (physical, traditional, historical, legendary, and value system). This difference parallels the difference in central conceptual categories of the word between the two versions. In addition to the legendary category of the central concept in the Canadian version, the Chinese ESL version of the central concept includes two additional symbolic categories (power and luck). These two symbolic ideas are non-existent in the Canadian culture but are historically and traditionally related to the Chinese culture. Therefore, the differences between the specific meanings in the Canadian response and those in the Chinese ESL responses becomes obvious.

Another example is the word 'propaganda'. The central concepts for the word in the Canadian baseline version fall under the political category and the category of value system. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the response by the Canadian subject, we find all the specific meanings wholly under these two major categories. It does not follow, however, that the Canadian native speakers of English will never make any specific meanings under other categories that are not represented by the central concepts, but the chances are that they will tend to ignore such comparatively irrelevant categories of meanings in meaning-making of the word. By contrast, in the Chinese ESL version, the central concept of the word 'propaganda' include the social category as well as political and value system categories. The socially related central concept 'anything publicized' led to such specific meanings as 'making known publicly', 'ads', 'publication', and 'newspaper' in the three Chinese ESL responses to the word.

This analysis is intended to demonstrate that the cross-cultural differences in central conceptual category of a word may be an important factor in making the specific meanings significantly different cross-culturally. This factor can lead to the making of a new category of specific meanings in the L2 response that are totally irrelevant to the L1 lexical meanings, as in the example of 'dragon', or to the making of a category of specific meanings in the L2 response that can most probably be ignored in the response by the native speaker of the target language -- as in the example of 'propaganda'.

Cultural knowledge

If the central meaning is seen as the skeleton of a word's meanings, most of the specific meanings built around the core can be compared to flesh consisting of many concrete cultural contents with which the word is associated. As revealed in the last chapter, specific meanings reflect one's specific cultural knowledge. As such, speakers with different cultural backgrounds will show cross-cultural differences in the making of specific meanings. In this study, the cross-cultural differences in specific meaning-making between the Chinese ESL responses and the Canadian English responses have been demonstrated in the reflections of specific cultural information.

Like the five main features of meaning-making (culture-specific, value judgment, traditional meanings, details, and symbolic) that have been identified in the Chinese ESL response to the 10 stimulus words, some similar features are found in the Canadian response as well. By putting the specific meanings in both responses under each of these features to which each specific meaning belongs, we can make out the cross-cultural differences or similarities of background cultural information reflected by the specific meanings. The specific meaning 'Sir John A. MacDonald' for the word 'conservative' is an obvious example of a culture-specific Canadian response. While this specific meaning is made to reflect the central meaning of the word, it is also reflecting the speaker's specific Canadian cultural knowledge related to the central meaning of the word. Meanings of value judgment are also common in the Canadian response for each word. While the subjective scaling in the two responses have indicated the connotative

differences between positive, neutral, and negative, the contents of those specific subjective meanings reflect more concretely the cultural meanings the speaker is familiar with. For example, 'free thought' and 'initiative' for the word 'individualism' not only suggest that they are positive meanings on the part of Canadian speakers but explain in what way they are positive according to the Canadian people. The same is true of the subjective meanings made in the Chinese response. When the meaning 'selfish' is made for the word 'individualism', the negative connotation reveals itself. 'Selfish' is more than just a negative connotation. It explains in what way the word individualism has negative meaning for the Chinese speakers.

As in the Chinese responses, there are also many detailed specific meanings in the Canadian response to help illustrate more concretely the central meaning of a word. For example, 'suit and tie' for the word 'conservative' and 'groups of people' for the word 'cohabitation' in the Canadian response illustrate the central meanings for these two words using some common examples of Canadian social reality that are by no means common in Chinese society. In the same way, the concept of recreational activity for the word 'park' is illustrated by the specific meaning 'boating' in the Chinese response which is not at all typical in the Canadian cultural context where 'camping' and 'barbecue' are more common activities in the park.

There is not any specific meaning with traditional and symbolic features in the Canadian response but there are quite a few in each of the Chinese responses. Few of these meanings in the Chinese responses do not reflect the Chinese cultural tradition or customs with which the speaker is most familiar.

However, just like the central conceptual meanings that overlap between the two responses, the same specific meanings are also found in the two responses (e.g., 'trees' and 'flowers' for the word 'park', 'love' for the word 'girlfriend', 'dress' for the word 'sexy'). This is because there are many aspects of social life and cultural reality that are common across cultures.

The point of examining and comparing the specific meanings between the Chinese ESL response and the native Canadian response is to indicate that one's specific prior cultural knowledge is also an important factor in the making of specific lexical meanings. Specific meanings will vary from person to person and from culture to culture. With the existence of a shared lexical central meaning of the mainstream of a culture, specific personal meanings will mostly, though not necessarily wholly, fall around the core of the central meanings. For those meanings that do not fall within the scope of the mainstream central meanings of a culture, they are at least negotiable with the central meanings so far as L2 lexical meaning acquisition is concerned. This is because the meaning maker who makes meanings that are not in congruence with the central cultural meaning for the word is at least aware of such a central meaning, thus making the negotiation possible. To sum up, it is both one's central semantic (i.e., central conceptual and connotative) knowledge and one's own cultural experience of the word that forms the complete practical knowledge of the word which the speaker probably uses in practice.

Native language response

The response in Chinese (NL) and the response in English (TL) by the three Chinese subjects are generally similar. Not only in central meanings for each word and in general categories by which all the meanings are covered, but in subjective scaling of value judgment for each word as well as in many specific meanings, no obvious differences between the two responses have been identified. Based on the general similarities between the Chinese subjects' NL and TL meaning responses, it may be assumed that it is within the influence of the Chinese subjects' native language (Chinese) that their TL (English) lexical meanings are made. At certain points, one response (either the NL response or the TL response) contains some specific meanings that are not found in the other response. For example, for the word 'park', the response in Chinese brings out meaning 健身设施 *Jian shen Se Shi* (gymnastic facilities) which the response in English does not have. Conversely, for the same word 'park', the response in English elicits meanings such as 'couples; lovers; crowded' while the response in Chinese does not. However, we can hardly assert that these variations are caused by cross-linguistic factors, that is, by the language differences between Chinese (NL) and English (TL) in which the Chinese ESL subjects make the meanings in the two responses respectively. One of the possibilities for having such variations may be the difference of time at which the two responses were made. The subject could have had more

associations in one cultural category at one time but less in this category at another time.

Even though we ignore the above kind of variations and acknowledge that the general similarity between the NL response and TL response by the Chinese ESL subjects exists, which might be a result of meaning transfer from the NL into TL, it does not follow that cross-linguistic problems in L2 lexical meaning-making -- such as lexical meaning differences caused by the use of corresponding lexical labels in two different languages -- are not existent. Since the differences either between the baseline Canadian English response and the Chinese ESL response or between the baseline Canadian English response and the Chinese NL response are apparent, what linguistic factors of Chinese NL are responsible for such differences in L2 lexical meaning-making? Analysis has revealed that some semantic differentiation in translation equivalent words are perceived to be existent between the corresponding words in Chinese NL and baseline Canadian English language, and it is this differentiation that may account in part for the difficulty in Chinese ESL lexical meaning-making.

Translation equivalents

Unlike the Canadian subject in this study, the Chinese ESL subjects have been observed to use two lexical and semantic systems in their ESL lexical meaning-making. The operation of the two systems by an L2 learner in each L2 lexical meaning-making situation involves the mapping of a TL lexical word, that is, a TL lexical label, to the meaning of the translation equivalent word in the NL. However, these two systems do

not always overlap because in many cases the meaning of a TL lexical word is often not identical to that of a translation equivalent word in the NL. In other words, a NL word is supposed to be equivalent to a TL word, but few TL meanings of culturally loaded words have been found to be completely identical to the NL meanings of their translation equivalents in all their semantic functions such as referential and conceptual meaning, or connotation.

The evidence in this study has indicated that when these subjects were making meaning of an L2 word, the very first thing triggered in their minds is the word's translation equivalent in Chinese. It is the visualized lexical label of this Chinese translation equivalent in their minds that they were using as the starting point from which to proceed in their L2 lexical meaning-making. Such evidence is shown consistently in all of their meaning-making tasks. In the first impression talk for each word, their first impression utterances are more often than not the Chinese translation equivalent. In their word association tasks, two of the subjects wrote as their first association meaning the Chinese translation equivalent for each English stimulus word in their Chinese responses. In the synonym section for the Chinese word association questionnaire, two subjects put the Chinese translation equivalents as synonyms. One of them later crossed out all the Chinese translation equivalents. In the interview, I asked her why she crossed them out and she said "I suddenly found that they should not be considered as synonyms; they are only the Chinese translations of those words and they are the same things" (S1). She was looking on a Chinese translation more as an equivalent thing than merely as a synonymous word to its original in English.

These Chinese translation equivalents are not the same things as their English counterparts. Let us take a closer view of some examples of these Chinese translation equivalents of the 10 English stimulus words by checking their meanings in the three Chinese official dictionaries, including Modern Chinese Dictionary (MCD) (Shang Wu, 1979), English-Chinese Dictionary (ECD) (Ge et al, 1985) and Chinese-English dictionary (CED) (Wu et al., 1980), and by comparing their meanings both in Chinese and in the Canadian English language context.

自 由 化 *Zi You Hua* (Chinese translation equivalent to the English stimulus 'liberalization' according to ECD) literally means 'liberal becoming' (becoming liberal); while 'liberal' can mean 'broad-minded' or 'a person who favours or follows the principle of liberalism ... a political philosophy that emphasizes belief in progress, individual freedom and a democratic form of government' (Avis et al, 1983, p. 664) in Canadian English. 自 由 *Zi You* in Chinese in this context only refers to 自由主义 *Zi You Zhu Yi* (Chinese translation equivalent to English 'liberalism') which is defined as 'an erroneous way of thinking ... which is mainly reflected in such performances as not principled, not organized, not disciplined and stressing only the interests of one's own" (Shang Wu, 1979, P. 1523). 宣传 *Xuan Chuan* (Chinese translation equivalent to 'propaganda' - Ge et at, 1985), for another example, literally means 'making public' 宣 *Xuan* and 'spreading information' 传 *Chuan* (Shang Wu, 1979, p. 1291). While 'propaganda' in Canadian English means "systematic efforts to spread opinions or beliefs, especially by distortion and deception" (Avis et al., 1983, p. 901),宣传 *Xuan Chuan* in Chinese is defined as "disseminating; giving publicity to" (Wu et al.,

1980, p. 782). Take 隱私 *Yin Si* (Chinese translation equivalent to English 'privacy' - Ge et al., 1985) for still another example. It literally means 'concealed' 隱 *Yin* and 'personal secret' 私 *Si*. 隱 *Yin* in Chinese is defined as "hidden from view; concealed" and "latent; lurking" (Shang Wu, 1979, p. 1367). 私 *Si* in Chinese is defined as "private secrets; selfish; in the dark; illicit, or illegal" (Shang Wu, 1979, p. 1075). Therefore, while English 'privacy' has a positive meaning, 隱私 *Yin Si* in Chinese has more often than not a bad association with the knowledge of definitions of the lexical labels 隱 *Yin* and 私 *Si* in Chinese. (See Appendix F both for the Chinese translation equivalents to each of the 10 ESL critical words used in this study and their meanings or definitions in the Chinese language context).

These examples show clearly that the three Chinese ESL subjects in this study are apparently basing their TL lexical meaning-making on their knowledge of NL lexical (or linguistic) labels since their TL central meanings in the ESL response are exactly reflecting the ideas that the translation equivalent labels in the NL (Chinese) represent in light of the Chinese dictionaries. This evidence again convincingly demonstrates that Chinese subjects are using translation equivalents in the process of L2 lexical meaning-making. The above examination of the lexical meanings in examples of those Chinese translation equivalents demonstrate that while these Chinese translation equivalents may be the ready lexical items corresponding to their counterparts in English, they are by no means equivalent to each other in all their semantic functions. When an L2 learner regards the meanings of the two corresponding lexical labels in L1 and the L2 as exactly the same, the meaning embedded in the L1 lexical label will be triggered first and

directly by the L2 learner, thus establishing a standpoint from which the L2 lexical meaning-making proceeds. As a result, the meanings made through this cross-linguistic concept-mapping process can certainly be as far apart from the original meanings of an L2 word as they are shown in this comparative study. The evidence that the corresponding linguistic labels in the two languages cannot trigger exactly the same meanings by the Chinese ESL subjects supports to some extent the validity of the linguistic relativity version of Whorfian Hypothesis.

Summary

The analysis in this chapter has mainly focused on the cross-cultural comparisons in lexical meaning-making between the Chinese ESL version of an L2 word and the baseline Canadian English version of the word. The comparisons have been directed to observing and analyzing the variations in Chinese ESL lexical meanings from the original lexical meanings in Canadian English. To make the comparisons more valid, the Gage Canadian English dictionary was used to serve as a conceptual part of lexical central meaning for the baseline Canadian English version.

The comparative analysis reveals that an L2 speaker and the native speaker of that language only share a partial central concept of a culturally loaded word in that language. Two specific types of conceptual overlapping status, (a) conceptual overlap with different boundaries and (b) conceptual inclusion with an additional boundary between the Chinese ESL version and the native Canadian English version have been

identified. This finding indicates that there is always a shared part of central concept for a culturally loaded word between the L2 version and the baseline target language version.

A striking result in lexical meaning comparison for most culturally loaded words in this study lies in the difference in connotation of a word between the L2 speaker and the native speaker of the TL. The differences are sometimes two scales apart, that is, between positive and negative, and sometimes one scale apart, that is, either between neutral and positive or between neutral and negative. Even in shared parts of a concept, different value judgments for most of the words have been seen between the Chinese ESL response and the Canadian response in this study. Three specific kinds of lexical meaning relationships have been identified in both conceptual and connotative comparisons between the Chinese and Canadian responses. This finding demonstrates clearly that there exist important cross-cultural differences in value systems between the Chinese culture and the Canadian culture in those cultural aspects reflected in the meanings of these words. It is the different cultural value systems that determine the different connotations of a word.

The comparison of synonyms and antonyms in the Chinese ESL response and the Canadian response has provided evidence from another important perspective of the existence of lexical meaning differences across cultures. The synonyms and antonyms in this study have most succinctly and conclusively reflected personal as well as cross-cultural differences in the conceptual and connotative meanings of each word. This result has helped further validate the findings discussed earlier.

This chapter has also analyzed the factors that influence the making of specific meanings. Two factors have been discussed including central conceptual category and the speaker's specific prior cultural knowledge. The central conceptual category of a word can be an important factor to make the specific meanings significantly different cross-culturally. Moreover, one's specific prior cultural knowledge is another essential factor in the making of a specific meaning.

As a part of cross-cultural comparisons in lexical meaning-making in this dissertation, cross-linguistic factors have also been taken into consideration in the analysis of this chapter. The role of Chinese translation equivalents in L2 lexical meaning-making has been examined from the viewpoint of the linguistic relativity version of the Whorfian Hypothesis. The evidence of the Chinese ESL learners' cross-linguistic meaning-mapping in the process of L2 lexical meaning-making has shown some support for this weak version of Whorfian Hypothesis.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Review of the Study

Summary

In light of the theoretical and conceptual framework established for this research, as discussed in the comprehensive literature reviewed at the outset of this thesis, this present study has been designed and conducted in an attempt to explore the extensive impact of an L2 learner's prior cultural knowledge on L2 lexical meaning-making. Through comparative analysis of the three Chinese ESL responses to each culturally loaded word in the study, and cross-cultural comparisons between the Chinese ESL speakers and the Canadian native speaker in meaning-making with the same words, the study has been able to reveal some important similarities and differences in lexical meaning-making by the speakers within a culture and across cultures.

The results of the comparisons among the three Chinese ESL subjects in L2 lexical meaning-making reveal that general similarities in different layers or shades of meanings exist among these L2 learners. These general similarities are perceived to be related to the existence of a shared central cultural meaning for a word among the L2 speakers with similar prior cultural background. This shared central cultural meaning for a word has been an important finding of this study.

The results of cross-cultural comparisons between the Chinese L2 version and the baseline Canadian L1 version of meanings for a word provide important evidence of the existence of cross-cultural differences in lexical meaning-making for each word in this study. It has been observed that each central meaning for a culturally loaded word may consist of both a conceptual component of meaning and a connotative component of meaning. The study has demonstrated that either of these component meanings or both these component meanings may vary from one culture to the other as shown in this cross-cultural comparison. As part of cross-cultural comparison, cross-linguistic concept-mapping phenomena related to the translation equivalent in L2 lexical meaning-making has been examined as well.

Conclusions

This present comparative study has demonstrated that the central meaning of a culturally loaded word differs significantly from an L2 speaker to a native speaker of a language. The differences in the central meaning are reflected in different shades or components of lexical meaning. The speaker's prior cultural knowledge has a direct influence on lexical meaning-making. It is different prior cultural knowledge between the L2 speaker and the native speaker of the target language that apparently underlies these differences in meaning-making of the cultural loaded word. From this the following theoretical conclusions are proposed:

(a) The general similarities in different layers or shades of meanings in

meaning-making by L2 learners are related to the existence of the shared central cultural meaning for a word among L2 speakers with similar same prior cultural background. This finding, in the view of the writer, has contributed significantly to the understanding of the nature of the so-called mental lexicon of second language learners. Mental lexicon, to put it in Meara's (1984) words, consists of two parts - a phonological/orthographical code that identifies the basic form of a word and a semantic entry that specifies its meaning. As Channell (1988) has pointed out, "For L1, research on the nature of the mental lexicon is reasonably well developed, with research findings and resultant models available" (p. 83). However, he adds:

> Understanding of the psychological aspects of L2 vocabulary acquisition and vocabulary use is still rather limited. Hence a key question for L2 theory to which we still need an answer is: what is the nature of the representation of L2 words in a learner's long-term memory, or to put this another way, what does the L2 mental dictionary look like? (p. 83)

As this study has shown, any answer to the nature of the L2 mental lexicon must embrace the shared central cultural meaning. Channel (1988) has argued that "L1 and L2 lexicons within the same speaker are clearly linked, phonologically, semantically and associationally. Speakers can make conscious links between them" (p. 93). But in the meanwhile, he calls for further research on this topic. This study has also provided further information on how the two lexicons within the same speaker are linked semantically and associationally.

(b) Between the L2 learner and the native speaker of that language there exists

a conceptual overlapping relationship in the central meaning of a culturally loaded word. On the other hand, the difference in connotation of some abstract culturally loaded words is striking, not only in specific meanings but in the shared part of the central concept between the L2 learner and the native speaker of the target language. This finding, on the one hand, explains that speakers across languages and cultures are still able to communicate in spite of linguistic and cultural differences. On the other hand, the present study has shed interesting light on the role of lexical meaning-making. By revealing the role of prior cultural knowledge the study has brought in a new perspective to look at "meaning": in fact there is no such thing as static "meaning" that is "fixed" either in the dictionary or in learner's mind. Rather, "meaning" is a dynamic process of meaning-making, an activity the L2 learner is engaged in all the time in learning a second language.

(c) Translation equivalents in the learner's mother tongue plays an important mediating role in the cross-linguistic meaning-mapping process. Thus, the conceptual variations in translation equivalents from the original meaning in the target language may pose a barrier for a learner in L2 lexical meaning-making. While posing a barrier, L1 is also a necessary tool in L2 vocabulary learning. What is more, efforts should be made to make better use of the learner's L1 in curriculum development -- as shown by Byram (1989) in his model for foreign language teaching and acquisition including language learning, language awareness, cultural awareness and cultural experience -- which I will elaborate in the next section.

Pedagogical Implications for Second Language Acquisition

What are the implications of my study for the second langauge learning and teaching? According to Faerch et al. (1987), SLA research has undergone two major paradigms -- Contrastive Analysis (CA) and the Interlanguage Hypothesis in the last three decades. Prior to the early 1960's, Contrastive Analysis was the dominant paradigm in SLA research. Linguistically, CA is based on structuralism and psychologically it adopts behaviourism as its theory of learning. However, along with the decline of behaviourism and the paradigm shift brought about by the Chomskyan revolution in the field of linguistics and other related disciplines (Ellis, 1985), CA was largely rejected in favour of the Interlanguage Hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the development of a learner's second language should be viewed as a system of knowledge in its own right, different both from the learner's native language and the target language. The Interlanguage Hypothesis (Selinker, 1972) drew heavily from a Chomskyan framework and emphasized a much larger role played in SLA by linguistic/psycholinguistic factors. This hypothesis has remained the dominant research paradigm to-date.

However, as more and more SLA researchers have pointed out (for example, see Pennycook, 1989, 1990), the last two decades or more saw an unhealthy tendency in applied linguistics, that is, overemphasis on the linguistic aspect of second language teaching and learning to the neglect of the cultural aspect. Besides, within the linguistic aspect of SLA, emphasis is more often than not unduly placed on the teaching and

learning of syntax to the neglect of vocabulary (Gass, 1988). Here, mention must be made of the fact that such a tendency is linked to this new paradigm which claims that the learner is "envisaged in a process of progressively adjusting his mother tongue system to approximate it ever more closely to the target" (Corder, 1978, p. 75). In the construct of these theoreticians, the learning process of a second language is viewed as no more than a continuum from one language system (that is the native language) to another (that is, the target language). With this perspective, the common knowledge that "language teaching has ... always and inevitably meant, in fact, language and culture teaching" (Byram & Esarte-Sarries, 1991, p. 5) has thus been discarded. In terms of vocabulary teaching, as Hindmarsh (1980) has noted, "the principal focus in preparing pedagogical materials passed gradually from vocabulary to structure" (P. v).

In so far as vocabulary learning is concerned, it has long been a practice to establish translation equivalencies. However, the findings in this study have pointed to the limitations of focusing attention *solely* on the equivalence in semantic meanings as established in the dictionary. As Damen (1987) has pointed out, learners also need to beware of "experiential and conceptual equivalence":

> These both rest in the realm of personal and cultural variation. Experiential variability, of course, is a function of each communicator's personal experience. Conceptual problems imply that the concepts covered by an 'accepted' translation do not cover the same range of meaning. For example, in American English the term *pharmacy* is generally synonymous with *drugstore*. In French, the term *pharmacie*

only partially covers the range of meaning implied by the English word *drugstore* (p. 148)

The gap in the understanding in the 10 English stimulus words employed in this study between the three Chinese subjects and the native speaker of English has furnished another convincing example of how cultural differences can pose an obstacle to target lexical acquisition. As Seelye (1987) has pointed out,

> The student should develop an awareness that culturally conditioned images are associated with even the most common target words and phrases. This calls for a need to understand the relation between culture and semantics. One way is for students to experience directly the cultural connotations of common words such as man, house, standing, walking, etc. by observing objects and activities as they occur in the target culture. (p. 54)

While a child learning a mother tongue learns how to communicate at the same time as learning culturally appropriate ways of thinking, the adult second/foreign language learner starts learning with an already developed ability to think and speak. Therefore, for adult language learners, the target lexical acquisition "involves modification and change of existing schemata to accommodate new experience" (Byram, 1989, p. 137).

The findings from this present study demonstrate that misunderstanding of L2 lexical meaning exists even for an advanced L2 learner. The three Chinese ESL subjects in this study all have a high level of ESL proficiency. They each have achieved a high score in TOEFL test (above 600) and all are currently engaged in their graduate studies

in Canada. Moreover, they all claimed that they had a "thorough understanding" of those 10 stimulus words for the study prior to my data collection. However, the results clearly indicate that their schemata for these target words have not undergone the necessary modification or change as Byram has claimed, but remain basically unchanged. One of the causes for this is that they are all newcomers to Canada and do not have the necessary experience in the target language context that could promote such "modification or change" in the schemata. Another factor, which pedagogically speaking may have a more profound implication, is related to the way they learned these words. They all learned English in a foreign language classroom setting in China. In this kind of setting, beginners learn new words and expressions from an English-Chinese dictionary. In so doing, they naturally equated the new English lexical items with the Chinese translation equivalents in the dictionary. Therefore, even when these learners have reached a relatively advanced level and can read an English-English dictionary, they will seldom, if ever, go back to the words they think they already have "acquired" to check their meanings in the English-English dictionary, assuming that the concepts of those Chinese translation equivalents match exactly and entirely those of the English counterparts. According to the weak version of Whorfian Hypothesis (linguistic relativism), the same meaning may be more easily expressed in one language than another. That is why translation equivalents are not always so equivalent. Again, according to the Whorfian Hypothesis, the meaning is triggered only by the linguistic label that denotes the meaning. Therefore, a translation equivalent cannot trigger the exact meaning of its counterpart in the second language as this study has demonstrated.

To help the second language learner to acquire the native speaker's lexical competence, the teacher needs to compare and contrast the target lexical items and their translation equivalents in the native language. This means that in second language learning and teaching, the learner's mother tongue should not be discarded in its entirety. However, what merits our attention here is that the mother tongue (Chinese) has always been regarded as a hindrance in learning English. Once learners of English have reached a certain stage, they are told to "forget" about their Chinese. Take the three subjects in this study. Once in university, they were told to use an "English-English" dictionary only. So they rarely touched any Chinese-English dictionary. Under such circumstances, they never had a chance to compare the meaning differences between the target words and their Chinese translation equivalents. Without such a comparison, it would be impossible for the learners to modify or change the existing schemata.

To facilitate such modification and change of existing schemata of the second language learners, "learners must contrast and compare their own frames of reference or world views with and to those of the 'stranger'. To plaster new cultural patterns into old frames of references *unconsciously* (emphasis is original) is to court miscommunication." (Damen 1987, p.61). The learning experience of the three Chinese subjects has indicated a strong need for a contrastive frame of reference in which comparison and contrast are powerful means of recognizing cultural differences.

The theory of "cultural contrastive analysis" advanced by Damen presents a powerful challenge to the Interlanguage Hypothesis that dominates the current SLA research. In the light of "cultural contrastive analysis", which the present study

supports, the learner's interlanguage should not merely be regarded as a third language system in its own right, different from the NL and TL, but also a third culture in its own right, forever interacting with both the TL culture and the NL culture. The learning process of a second language learner should not be regarded as a process of replacing one linguistic system with another. If language is seen as part of culture, a learner (especially an adult learner) cannot replace his or her linguistic system any more than he can replace his or her own culture. More than a process of learning the target language system, it is also a process of culture learning which entails modification and change of learners' existing schemata.

In the light of cultural contrastive analysis, making the native-speaker's linguistic or communicative competence the objective of second language teaching would sound unrealistic. What the learners are expected to achieve should be "intercultural competence" as advanced by some SLA researchers (Byram, 1989; Buttjes & Byram, 1990). "Intercultural competence" is defined by Meyer (1991) as

> the ability of a person to behave adequately and in a flexible manner when confronted with actions, attitudes and expectations of representatives of foreign cultures. Adequacy and flexibility imply an awareness of the cultural differences between one's own and the foreign culture and the ability to handle cross-cultural problems which result from these differences. (p.137)

To acquire this intercultural competence, the learner has to participate directly in the target culture and negotiate for meaning across cultures. From this perspective, the

mother tongue should not be regarded as a hindrance to learning the second language (although it is necessary to recognize the interference from the first language in learning the second language). Without the learner's own language, the contrastive framework of reference would be impossible. Byram (1989) has suggested the following model for foreign language teaching which has four components: language learning, language awareness, cultural awareness and cultural experience. Language learning is skill-oriented, focused on the foreign language, and that particular foreign language should be the medium of communication and instruction. Language awareness is sociolinguistic knowledge oriented; the learner's mother tongue is the medium of communication and instruction and the focus is comparison. Cultural awareness also has the learner's mother tongue as the medium; it is knowledge-oriented and focuses comparison. Cultural experience is knowledge oriented, the target language should be the medium and the target culture is the focus. Byram (1989) points out,

> The use of the learners' mother tongue for comparative analysis of one's own and foreign cultural meanings can be combined with the teaching of the foreign language as a subject and as the medium of experience of foreign cultural phenomena. This would involve, first, language learning in the current sense of skill-acquisition, enriched by the study of the nature of language as a social and cultural phenomenon (Language Awareness). Second, the study of language would in turn be combined with a study of culture, both of these carried out with comparative techniques using the learners' mother tongue. Thirdly, the direct

> experience of selected aspects of the foreign culture from the viewpoint and within the ethnic identity of the foreign peer group would be in the foreign language, and this would in turn contribute to the language learning process. (p. 138)

Therefore, it seems to me that while it is necessary to use the target language as the medium of instruction, it is wrong to ban the use of the mother tongue in the foreign language classroom. In fact, the use of both the learners' native language and the target language could yield the best results.

Limitations

This study has used only three Chinese subjects and one Canadian subject. The limited number of subjects can constitute a possible limitation in the generalization of the results. A larger number of subjects would make the findings of this study more convincing. The selection of those critical words are based on my past personal experience with them. Some critical words that are more typical than the ones in this study may have been omitted. A more extensive selection of critical words obtained by larger-scale search survey or dictionary search would be more representative of culturally loaded words discussed in this dissertation. In addition, the study spanned only a short period of time. To find out whether and how the learner will improve intercultural competence after a period of participation in the target culture, a longitudinal study would be preferred.

Suggestions for Future Studies

This thesis discussed the issue of a shared cultural central meaning for a word. However, with the limitation of the number of subjects in this study, further studies are necessary so that the results can be generalized. Such further studies should involve more subjects from both the L2 learners' culture and the target language culture in order to explore the existence of central cultural meaning for a word at large and whether the central meaning, if identified, is shared by most people with the same cultural background.

Gender difference could be another factor leading to differentiation in meaning-making discussed in this dissertation. I would suggest a future study to be designed to distinguish any possible gender differences. Some light may be thrown on the issue by comparing the meanings in different shades between the response by a male group and the response by a female group to the same words.

This study focused more on the meanings of lexemes than on the meaning-making of words in discourse. A further study is necessary to identify how the meanings of a word in one's mind may be related to the meaning-making of the word in context. The further study might examine this relationship by looking at the data to be collected through such discourse tasks as creating sentences, writing essays (e.g., writing a diary using the topic 'On Individualism'), or conversations.

Moreover, it is suggested that a longitudinal study be conducted to find out whether the learner's awareness of his or her mother tongue is an asset or liability, so

far as L2 lexical acquisition is concerned. For such a study, two groups of second/foreign language subjects (consisting of 10 to 15 learners each) and about 30 culturally loaded words in the TL should be appropriately selected. One group would be used as a control group where only a monolingual TL dictionary would be used and there would be no emphasis on cultural awareness and lexical meaning comparison between the L1 and the L2 in learning an L2 word. In other words, there is no comparison between the meaning of an L2 word and the meaning of the word's translation equivalent in their mother tongue in this control group. The other group would be an experimental one where the use of both a bilingual dictionary and a monolingual TL dictionary should be encouraged. In other words, cultural awareness and lexical meaning comparison between a translation equivalent and its counterpart in the TL would be required and stressed in this group. Before the study starts, the two groups of subjects should be given a test on these selected words and their results should be kept as a record. Then about six months later, after the two methods of lexical acquisition are employed in the respective groups, the two groups of subjects should be given another test on the same words so that the results from the two groups could be compared to see whether this cultural awareness is a hindrance or a help in L2 lexical acquisition.

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Appendix A

Personal Background Information Questionnaire

(For Chinese Subjects)

May __, 1991

Dear sir/madam,

This is a brief questionnaire concerning your personal background. The purpose of this questionnaire is to get some essential data useful for my study. All the personal information to be provided will be used for the study only. Please properly answer all the following questions. For any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me.

QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I

1) Name: 2) Age:

3) Address (& Phone No.):

4) Place of birth:
City Country

5) Longest place or country of your residence:
City/County Country

6) How long have you been in Canada?

7) Please state what your present status is and what you do in Canada.

8) Have you visited any other countries before? If yes, please state the name(s) of the country/countries and the length of your stay there?

9) Have you been to any other English speaking country before?
If your answer is 'Yes', please state how long your stay was in that country.

10) How long have you been learning English? How did you learn it before you came to Canada?

11) What level of English do you think you have achieved? Why?

12) Have you taken the TOEFL test before? If yes, when did you take it? What's the result?

13) What is your academic background? What academic degrees have you obtained? What's your major?

14) What language do you usually use for thinking?

PART II

The following is a list of English words. Beside each word is a bracket ( ). Please indicate in the bracket whether or not you understand this English word by writing 'y' for "yes" and 'n' for "not".

Words

ink ( )	doctor ( )	privacy ( )
girlfriend/boyfriend ( )	milk ( )	sexy ( )
propaganda ( )	bourgeois ( )	finger ( )
dragon ( )	individualism ( )	window ( )
cohabitation ( )	park ( )	night ( )
night ( )	patriotic ( )	drama ( )
liberalization ( )	pencil ( )	love (v.) ( )
countryside ( )	conservative ( )	

This is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for your help and your kind cooperation.

Shuguang Qi
M.ED. Student
Faculty of Education
Queen's University
K7L 3N6

(For the Canadian Subject)

May __, 1991

Dear Subject,

This is a brief questionnaire concerning your personal background. The purpose of this questionnaire is to get some essential data useful for my study. All the personal information to be provided will be used for my study only. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask me.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1) Name: 2) Age:

3) Address (& Phone No.):

4) Place of birth:
City Country

5) Longest place or country of your residence:
City/County Country

6) How long have you been in Canada?

7) Have you visited any other countries before? If yes, please state the name(s) of the country/countries and the length of your stay there?

8) Have you been to any other English speaking country before? If your answer is 'yes', pleas state how long your stay was in that country.

9) Besides English, what other languages can you speak? What level of these languages, if applicable, do you think you have achieved? Why?

10) What language do you usually use for thinking?

11) What is your academic background? What academic degrees have you obtained? What do you study?

This is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for your help and your kind cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Shuguang Qi
M.ED. Student
Faculty of Education
Queen's University
K7L 3N6

Appendix B

(Both for the Chinese and Canadian subjects)

Open-Ended Word Association Questionnaire

Important: Be sure you have read through the instructions before you do the questionnaire!

Instructions

This questionnaire is an attempt to know what each of the English words appearing on the following pages means to you. Each of the words appears on the top centre of a response sheet. The space for your responses is divided into two parts. In the first part, 10 numbers (from 1 to 10) are provided to indicate where each of your meanings or associations is to be given. By associations in this particular task, it means anything that you think is associatively connected with the word concerned, including things, ideas, emotions or images. In the next part, you are required to give some synonyms and/or antonyms to that word. if you think there are no synonyms and/or antonyms to that word, you can leave the section blank.

You were already asked about the meanings of these words in our previous talk. Now you are requested to think more about these words and write out 10 things or associations each word has for you.

Thank you!

PRIVACY

Associations:

1).

2).

3).

4).

5).

6).

7).

8).

9).

10).

Synonyms

Antonyms

Appendix C
(For Chinese Subjects to Respond in Chinese)

词义联想调查
回答须知

这份调查旨在了解您对一些英文词汇的理解. 这份题目共收集了十五个英文单词。每一个词的下面分成两个回答部分。第一部分要求您写出十个与该词有关的联想意义。这里所谓的"联想意义"是指任何您认为与该词的词义有某种联系的一切事物，概念或形象。请把您的每一个联想按标出的数字顺序（1—10）分别写下来。第二部分要求您写出该词的一些同义词和反义词。假如您认为该词不存在任何同义词或反义词，则可不必回答。

注意：这次请一律用中文回答。谢谢您的合作！

The following is an English translation of the above instructions. It does not show up in the original questionnaire.

Word Association Questionnaire

Instructions

This questionnaire is an attempt to know what each of the English words appearing on the following pages means to you. The questionnaire consists of 15 English words. The space below each word for your responses is derived into two parts. In the first part, 10 numbers (from 1 to 10) are provided in the space to indicate where each of your associations is to be given. By associations in this particular task, it means anything that you think is associatively connected with the stimulus word, including things, ideas, emotions or images. In the next part, you are required to give some what you think are the synonyms (similar in meaning) and/or antonyms (opposite in meaning) to each word. If you think there are no synonyms and/or antonyms to the stimulus word, leave the section blank.

IMPORTANT: Please write your responses in Chinese only this time!

Appendix D

English Responses by the Chinese Subjects

No.	Meanings	Category*	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Liberalization					
1.	too liberal to be controlled** 3	Pol.			S1 S2 S3
2.	want to be free from control of the government 1	Pol.		S2	
3.	safeguard 1	Pol.	S1		
4.	restriction 1	Pol.			S3
5.	ideological liberalization 1	Pol.	S2		
6.	1989 Tienanmen Square Event 2	Pol.	S1 S2**		
7.	articles, lectures, and demonstrations demanding democracy and freedom 1	Pol.	S2		
8.	prison 1	Pol.& Phys.			S2
9.	freedom 1	Pol.	S1		
10.	too much freedom 1				S3
11.	democracy 1	Pol.	S3		
12.	liberalism 1	Pol.& VS			S3
13.	harmful to collectivism 2	Pol.& VS			S2 S3
14.	radical 2	Pol.& VS			S1 S2
15.	slackness in discipline 2	Soc.& VS			S1 S3
16.	contrary to self-restraint 1	Soc.& VS			S1
17.	harmful to social steadiness 2	Soc.& VS			S1 S2
18.	a situation of turmoil 2	Soc.& VS			S1 S3
19.	anarchy 3	VS			S1 S2 S3
20.	irresponsible 1	VS			S3
Conservative					
1.	old political leaders 1	Pol.			S3
2.	not reform-minded 1	Pol.			S3
3.	ultra-"leftists" 1	Pol.			S3
4.	a party composed of aristocrats 1	Pol.& Soc.			S2
5.	extremists 1	Pol.& Soc.			S2
6.	gerontocracy 1	Pol.& Soc.			S2
7.	difficult to accept new things 1	Pol.& Soc.			S3
8.	cannot put the society forward 2	Pol.& Soc.			S2 S3
9.	old people 1	Soc.			S1
10.	a reserved and fussy person 1	Soc.			S2
11.	worldly wise and play safe 1	Soc.			S1
12.	keep things in current status quo2	Soc.			S1 S2

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No.	Meanings	Category*	Positive	Neutral	Negative
13.	adhere to past practices 1	Soc.& VS			S1
14.	to stand on ceremony 1	Soc.& VS			S2
15.	passive attitude towards society and life 1	Soc.& VS			S2
16.	stubborn 1	Per.			S1
17.	retrogressive 2	VS			S1 S3
18.	backward 1	VS			S3
19.	reactionary 1	VS			S3
20.	old fashioned 2	VS			S1 S3
21.	steady 1	VS		S1	
22.	stale 1	VS			S1
23.	vigorless 1	VS			S2
24.	still 2	VS			S1 S3
25.	rigid way of thinking 1	VS			S2
	Propaganda				
1.	political 2	Pol.			S1 S3
2.	declaration 1	Pol.		S1	
3.	articles, lectures, pictures, usu. for political purpose 1	Pol.& Phys.			S2
4.	wall-newspaper 1	Pol.& Phys.	S2		
5.	pamphlets 1	Pol.& Phys.		S2	
6.	Propaganda Department 1	Pol.& Soc.		S2	
7.	publication 1	Pol.& Soc. S1			
8.	announcement 2	Pol.& Soc. S1	S3		
9.	making known publicly 1	Soc. S1			
10.	advertisements 3	Soc.& Phys.	S2	S1 S3	
11.	radio 3	Soc.& Phys.	S1 S2	S3	
12.	TV 3	Soc.& Phys.	S1 S2	S3	
13.	newspapers 3	Soc.& Phys.	S1 S2	S3	
14.	magazines 1	Soc.& Phys.	S2		
15.	aid 1	VS	S3		
16.	false 1	VS			S3
17.	influential 2	VS	S2 S3		
18.	either useful or harmful 2	VS		S1 S3	
	Individualism				
1.	strong character 1	Per.			S3
2.	without cosidering the interests of the people and the society 2	Per. Soc.& VS			S1 S2
3.	show off 2	Per.,Soc.& VS			S2 S3
4.	only concern one's own interests 2	Per.& VS			S1 S3

No.	Meanings	Category	Positive	Neutral	Negative
5.	independence 1	Per.& VS		S3	
6.	selfish 3	Per.& VS			S1 S2 S3
7.	indifferent 2	Per.& VS			S1 S3
8.	cold-hearted 1	Per.& VS			S1
9.	not reliable 1	Per.& VS			S3
10.	lack of discipline1	Per.& VS			S3
11.	arrogant 1	Per.& VS			S1
12.	intractable 1	Per.& VS			S2
13.	aggressive 1	Per.& VS			S2
14.	narrow-minded 1	Per.& VS			S2
15.	vigorous 1	Soc.& VS			S2
16.	diversified 2	Soc.& VS		S2 S3	
17.	isolated 1	Soc.& VS			S1
18.	contrary to the traditionally advocated Chinese values of collectivism 1	Trad.& VS			S2
19.	harmful to society2	VS			S1 S2
20.	special 2	VS			S1 S3
21.	bad 1	VS			S1
Sexy					
1.	body attraction 1	Soc.			S2
2.	showing off 1	Soc.			S1
3.	flirt 1	Soc.			S3
4.	alluring 1	Soc.			S2
5.	seducing 3	Soc.			S1 S2 S3
6.	female 2	Soc.		S1 S2	
7.	induce males 2	Soc.			S2 S3
8.	seductive dresses 2	Soc.& Phys.			S2 S3
9.	sex 1	Soc.& Per.			S3
10.	erotic 2	Soc.& VS			S2 S3
11.	sexually promiscuous	Soc.& VS			S1
12.	prostitute 1	Soc.& VS			S3
13.	coquettish 1	VS			S3
14.	pornographic 2	VS			S1 S3
15.	lewd 1	VS			S1
16.	licentious 1	VS			S1
17.	loose in moral2	VS			S1 S3
18.	mean 2	VS			S1 S2
19.	not serious 1	VS			S2
20.	insulting 1	VS			S1
21.	frivolous 1	VS			S2
Cohabitation					
1.	marriage in future	Soc.		S1	
2.	a male and a female living together without marriage 3	Soc.			S1 S2 S3
3.	secret 3	Soc.			S1 S2 S3
4.	love 2	Soc.		S1 S3	
5.	family instability 1	Soc.			S2
6.	illegitimate child2	Soc.			S1 S2

No.	Meanings	Category*	Positive	Neutral	Negative
7.	sexual 1	Soc.			S1 S3
8.	problem 1	Soc.			S2
9.	adultery 1	Soc.& VS			S3
10.	opposite to the traditional moral standards 1	Trad.& VS			S1 S2 S3
11.	unlawful 3	VS			S3
12.	infamy 1	VS			S1
13.	shame 1	VS			S2 S3
14.	immoral 2	VS			S2 S3
15.	against social norm 2	VS		S1	
16.	reasonable but not acceptable 1	VS			S3
17.	irresponsible 1	VS			S1
18.	rash 1	VS			S2
19.	hedonism 1	VS			S2
20.	sexual freedom 1	VS			
	Girlfriend				
1.	may or will marry her boyfriend 2	Soc.		S2 S3	
2.	fiancée 3	Soc.	S1 S2 S3		
3.	lover 1	Soc.	S3		
4.	a female friend 2	Soc.		S1 S2	
5.	romance 1	Soc.		S3	
6.	love 2	Soc.	S1 S2		
7.	marriage 2	Soc.	S1 S3		
8.	opposite of boyfriend 1	Soc.		S1	
9.	a relationship recognized by parents of both sides 1	Soc.& Trad.	S2		
10.	loyal to her boyfriend 2	Soc.& VS	S1 S2		
11.	sexual conduct with her boyfriend 2	Soc.& VS			S2 S3
12.	sweet 2	Per.	S1 S3		
13.	nice 1	Per.	S1		
14.	tender 1	Per.	S2		
15.	young 1	Per.	S1		
16.	pretty 1	Per.	S3		
17.	soft 1	Per.	S3		
18.	self-respected 2	Per.& VS	S2 S3		
19.	self-possessed 1	Per.& VS	S2		
20.	happy 1	Per.& VS	S1		
	Privacy				
1.	concerning private 2	Per.		S1 S3	
2.	keeping to oneself 1	Per.			S1
3.	deep in mind 1	Per.			S1
4.	personal secrets 3	Per.& Soc.			S1 S2 S3
5.	conceal 2	Per.& Soc.			S2 S3
6.	sexual affairs 2	Per.& Soc.			S1 S3

No.	Meanings	Category	Positive	Neutral	Negative
7.	calm 1	Per.& Soc.		S1	
8.	divorce 1	Per.& Soc.			S2
9.	personal relationship with others 1	Per.& Soc.			S2
10.	love 2	Per.& Soc.		S2 S3	
11.	marriage 1	Per.& Soc.		S2	
12.	indecent conduct 1	Per.& Soc.			S3
13.	things you never want to be revealed to the public 2	Soc.			S2 S3
14.	family affairs 1	Soc.			S2
15.	family financial issues 1	Soc.			S2
16.	not disturbed 1	Soc.		S1	
17.	quietly living far from the public 1	Soc.		S1	
18.	rumour 1	Soc.			S3
19.	mysterious 1	VS			S1
20.	sneaky 2	VS			S1 S3
21.	furtive 2	VS			S2 S3
Park					
1.	trees	Phys.	S1 S3		
2.	flowers	Phys.	S1 S2 S3		
3.	lawn	Phys.	S1		
4.	grass 1	Phys.	S2		
5.	lake 3	Phys.	S1 S2 S3		
7.	enclosed by fence, walls, or banisters 1	Phys.	S2		
8.	recreational facilities 1	Phys.	S2		
9.	fresh air 2	Phys.	S1 S2		
10.	animals 1	Phys.& Soc.	S2		
11.	artificial hills 2	Phys.& Trad.	S1 S3		
12.	pavilions 2	Phys.& Trad.	S1 S2		
13.	families, children, old people 2	Soc.	S2 S3		
14.	crowded 1	Soc.			S3
15.	recreation 1	Soc.	S2		
16.	relaxing 1	Soc.	S1		
17.	boating 1	Soc.	S3		
18.	pay for entrance 1	Soc.		S3	
19.	quiet 2	VS	S1 S3		
20.	beautiful place 2	VS	S1 S3		
Dragon					
1.	myth 1	Legen.	S3		
2.	imaginary creature 2	Legen.		S1 S3	
3.	king of all animals 1	Legen.	S1		
4.	not true 1	Legen.		S2	

No.	Meanings	Category*	Positive	Neutral	Negative
5.	emperor 2	His.	S1 S2		
6.	prince 1	His.	S3		
7.	imperior power 3	His.	S1 S2 S3		
8.	dragon gown 1	His.& Phys.	S2		
9.	snake 1	Phys.			S3
10.	dragon brand tea 1	Phys.	S2		
11.	dragon relief 1	Phys.& Trad.	S1		
12.	sign of China 2	Trad.	S1 S3		
13.	symbolic of luck 2	Trad.	S2 S3		
14.	Spring Festival 1	Trad.	S3		
15.	dragon dance 2	Trad.	S2 S3		
16.	great 1	VS	S2		
17.	powerful 3	VS	S1 S2 S3		
18.	might 1	VS	S1		
19.	prestige 1	VS	S1		
20.	dignified 2	VS	S1 S2		

* Here are the full terms for the abbreviations used in this column
Phys.= Physical; Soc.= Social; Pol.= Political;
Per.= Personal; Trad.= Traditional; His.= Historical;
VS = Value Systems

** A meaning that is underlined means that the meaning is also a first impression meaning. S1, S2, or S3 refers to the particular subject who gave the meaning both in the first impression talk and in the word association.

Appendix E
English Response by the Canadian Subject

Words	Category	Specific Meanings		
		Positive	Neutral	Negative
Liberalization	Pol.*	release		
	Pol.& Soc.	politics		
		not controlled by others	not conservative	
	VS	risk taking**		
		open-mindedness		
		free spirit		
Conservative	Pol.	Sir John A. MacDonald		
		politics		
	Pol.& Soc.	not willing to do out of the ordinary things		
		maintain status quo		
	Soc.	Queen mother		
		suit and tie		
		older generation		
	VS	not radical	kind of thinking not taking risks	
Propaganda	Pol.			Communism
				brain washing
				Germany
	Pol.& His.			Berlin Wall
				censored ad.
	Pol. & VS			rumour
				untrue stories
				using information for negative effects
				frustration
				lies
Individualism	Per.& Soc.	mind of his/her own	own person	
		strong will		
		not a follower		
		risk taker		fighter
		strong beliefs or convictions		
		individual		
	VS	free thought		
		initiative		
Sexy	Soc.	female		
		walk		
		aura		
		body movements		
		sex appeal		
	Soc. & Phys.	dress		
		legs		
		hair		
	VS	attractive	suggestive	erotic

WORDS	CATEGORY	Specific Meanings		
		Positive	Neutral	Negative
Cohabitation	Soc.	men & women mutual attraction not married commitment living together	hippies	groups of people
	Soc.& Phys. VS	apartment	farms value systems	
Girlfriend	Soc.	romance hold hands doing things together mutual attraction friend/companionship	same interests love movies skating	
	Per.& VS	cute		
Privacy	Per. Soc.	individual not public confidentiality secrecy freedom of information act restricted shielded		
	VS	protected rights		
Park	Phys.	green grass trees flowers, birds		
	Phys. & Soc.	garbage containers swings	statues	
	Soc.	drinking fountain barbecues	people campers	
Dragon	Legend.	green medieval time knights used to slay them princess castle		fiery breath
	Legend., Phys. & VS VS	large tail		claws scary skin fear

* Here are the full terms for the abbreviations used in this column
Phys. = Physical; Soc. = Social; Pol. = Political; Per. = Personal; VS = Value Systems
** The meaning that is underlined means that the meaning is also a first impression meaning by the subject.

Appendix F

Chinese Translation Equivalents of the 10 English Critical Words and their Meanings

Words	Translation Equivalents	Meanings of Chinese Translation Equivalents
Liberalization	自由化 *Zi You Hua*	becoming liberal; an erroneous way of thinking; not principled, not organized, not disciplined and stressing only one's own interests
Conservative	保守 *Bao Shou*	maintain status quo; do not seek improvement; fall short of the demands of the times; stay in a rut
Propaganda	宣传 *Xuan Chuan*	making public; giving publicity to; spreading ideas and news
Individualism	个人主义 *Ge Ren Zhu Yi*	erroneous way of thinking; proceed in all cases from the interests of one's own; ignoring the interests of others
Sexy	性感 *Xing Gan*	causing sexual desires; erotic
Cohabitation	同居 *Tong Ju*	man and woman living together without legal marriage
Girlfriend	女友 *Nu You*	a female friend with whom a man is in love; a relationship between a man and his girlfriend which will be developed into partnership in marriage in future
Privacy	隐私 *Yin Si*	concealed personal secrets
Park	公园 *Gong Yuan*	a public scenic spot for people to rest, to play, and to sight-see
Dragon	龙 *Long*	a wonderful and magic animal in the Chinese legend; a symbol for emperor in China's history

Note: The Chinese translation equivalents in this Appendix are based on New English-Chinese Dictionary (Ge, et al., 1985) and their meanings or definitions are based on Modern Chinese Dictionary (Shang Wu, 1979)

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